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ABSTRACT

This document consists of the third section of a book of readings on issues related to adult career development. The six chapters in this third section focus on target populations. "Career Counseling Women: Principles, Procedures, and Problems" (Louise Fitzgerald) reviews major approaches to career development and demonstrates ways in which they do not accurately describe or predict the behavior of women. It outlines diagnostic principles for assessing women's vocationally related problems and suggests specific techniques for intervention. "Adult Men's Career Transitions and Gender-Role Themes" (James O'Neil and Diane Fishman) investigates the interaction of men's gender roles and career transitions. "Career Development and the Ethnic Minority" (Anita Hughes and Barbara Smith) examines minority issues in adult development and the role of these issues as barriers to minority career development. "Conjoint Career Counseling: Counseling Dual-Career Couples" (Lynne Binder Hazard and Diane Koslow) describes a conjoint career counseling approach for dual-career couples. "Counseling Adults in Midlife Career Transitions" (Philip Abrego and Lawrence Brammer) provides a framework for understanding and counseling adults in midlife career changes. "Preretirement Programming: Beyond Lectures" (Marilyn Merikangas and Bruce Fretz) presents the shifting meanings, theories, and data about what leads to a retirement decision and describes practical experiences gained from conducting psychologically oriented retirement preparation programs. (NB)

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SECTION III:

TARGET POPULATIONS

FOR A VARIETY OF PEOPLE . . .

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CHAPTER 9

Career Counseling Women: Principles, Procedures, and Problems

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Although vocational psychology and its applied discipline, career counseling, are over 70 years old, only lately has systematic attention been devoted to the career psychology of women (Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980; Fitzgerald & Betz, 1983). When researchers began to investigate women's career development it quickly became apparent that such development is a more complex process than is that of men, due mainly to the societal norm that the biological roles of wife and mother are incompatible with the social role of worker. Such complexities have necessitated that practitioners, used to working mainly with men, begin to rethink their approach to career counseling when working with women.

The present chapter begins by reviewing the major approaches to career development and demonstrates the ways in which they do not accurately describe or predict the behavior of women. It then outlines diagnostic principles for assessing women's vocationally related problems, suggests specific techniques for intervention, and, finally, concludes with a discussion of the unique difficulties counselors face when working with women.

BACKGROUND

Theories of career choice can be characterized by two types, those that predict and explain the *content* of the choice (what occupation or career the person will enter) and those that describe the optimal *process* of career decision making (the stages and steps the person goes through in making the choice). A comprehensive theory of career development would include, of course, both content and process, however. So far none has appeared.

The original and most durable model of career choice content and the one which to some degree underlies all others, is known as trait-and-factor theory. Formulated originally by Parsons (1909), this model rests on three basic tenets:

1. Individuals differ in their interests, abilities, and personal characteristics (traits and factors).

2. Occupations differ in their requirements for various skills, the opportunities to fulfill various interests, and so forth.
3. The quality of a vocational choice (and, thus, the degree of success and satisfaction) is a function of the degree of agreement between the characteristics of the person and the requirements of the job.

The most recent and complete statement of this type is that of Holland (1984). He suggests that people have individual patterns of interests and abilities, and occupations have characteristic environments, both of which can be described in terms of the degree to which they conform to some configuration of six basic types:

Realistic: practical, down-to-earth, thing-oriented; prefers the outdoors, and concrete activities where mechanical dexterity and similar abilities are required.
Investigative: scientific, analytical, idea-oriented; independent; prefers to work alone.
Artistic: creative, expressive; prefers to express ideas and feelings in many forms of artistic media; dramatic, artistic, and sensitive.
Social: outgoing, friendly, people-oriented; prefers to solve problems by arranging and rearranging relationships.
Enterprising: outgoing, persuasive, and energetic; adept at selling and verbal persuasion.
Conventional: prefers structured activities in a well-oriented hierarchy; careful, orderly.

According to this model, a good vocational choice is one that results in *congruence*, or fit, between the person and the environment. Thus, this model is often referred to as a person-environment interaction theory.

From its inception as the somewhat simplistic "matching men (sic) and jobs" approach, through trait-and-factor theory, to the more comprehensive Holland categories of contemporary person-environment interaction theory, the matching model has proved a durable and useful way of thinking about and predicting the content of career choices, and has provided generations of career counselors with a framework for their practice. According to this model, the counseling process has three steps:

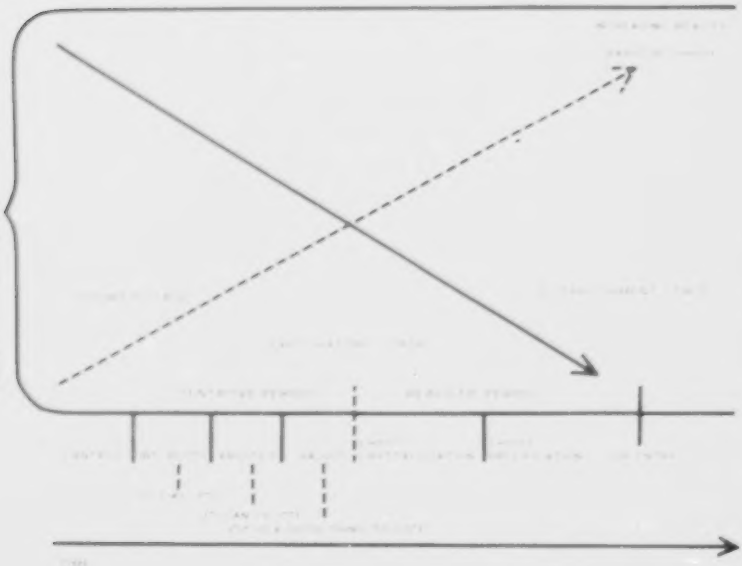
1. *Client Assessment*: In this stage the counselor, through in-depth interviewing and the use of psychological tests, assists the client to gain a clear picture of his or her strengths and weaknesses, interests, personality characteristics, goals, and so forth.
2. *Environmental Assessment*: Through the use of occupational information, the counselor assists clients in clarifying their perceptions of relevant parts of the world of work. The use of occupational information varies from the most mundane pamphlets and film clips to highly sophisticated techniques involving interviewing, volunteering, and interning.
3. *Decision Making*: Once a clear picture has been obtained of both the client and the potential opportunities, the counselor and client engage in a process of working through the various options. This involves: synthesizing, compromising, and attempting to arrive at the best possible choice for the client.

In contrast to this matching model that portrays the choice of a career as a point-in-time occurrence, the *developmental* model conceptualizes choice as a process that spans many years. It proceeds in orderly stages from early adolescence through adulthood, and culminates finally in retirement. Originally outlined by Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma (1951) and more fully elaborated by Super (1953), developmental theory accepts the importance of person/environment congruence, but chooses to highlight the process the person goes through in arriving at a clear specification of a choice and the attendant developmental tasks that must be mastered to successfully negotiate each stage. Figure 1 is based on the theoretical formulations of both Ginzberg and Super. It depicts these stages, highlights the exclusionary nature of the choice process, and shows the increasing reality base of choice across time. Note that the differential and developmental models are actually complementary ways of thinking about career choice, as the latter incorporates the former and casts it into a developmental framework.

According to this framework, during the exploration stage individuals base career preferences on their interests, then abilities, and finally, values. There is an ever-increasing reality base to this process as people first consider work based only on what they *like* to do, then consider what they are *able* to do (e.g., special skills and talents, weaknesses and handicaps), and finally incorporate their values. Through exploration of self and the world, the individual eventually crystallizes a vocational pref-

Figure 1

Hypothesized Stages in Career Development With Attendant Tasks or Bases for Choice



erence, and finally specifies an actual choice. This process is thought to occupy the years of junior high, high school, and postsecondary or college training, and concludes with the implementation of the choice through occupational entry, which is the empirical boundary between the exploration and establishment stages. Contemporary statements of developmental theory (e.g., Super, 1984) underscore the probability that people may "recycle" through these stages one or more times as they change jobs, fields, or careers during the course of their lives. The often cyclical nature of career development across the life span should be kept in mind, although for the sake of simplicity the process is described here in linear terms. Developmental career counseling, then, will include assessment of the client's stage of development as well as the traditional assessment of interests and abilities. For those who are developmentally delayed, or *career immature*, counseling will focus first on orientation to the choice process, and then on exploration, reality testing, and decision making. As Super and Overstreet (1960) have noted, counseling with the immature client is counseling to develop readiness for choice (to assist the client in understanding the choice process) rather than counseling concerning specific choices. Crites (1981) has written

> In sum, the overall process of career development progresses from orientation and readiness for career choice to decision making and reality testing, and the developmental career counselor initiates counseling at that point in the process which the client has reached. (p. 125)

For many years, career counselors utilized one or the other, or some combination, of these models to assist their (mostly male) clients to select, enter, and adjust to satisfying work. In the 1960s, however, with the advent of the civil rights movement and its outgrowth, the women's movement, women began moving into the work place in ever-increasing numbers. By the early 1980s, over 50% of American women were seeking and entering careers. Counselors began to work more often with female clients either fresh from completing their education and training or returning to the work world after an extended absence devoted to child rearing. It soon became apparent that the theories and procedures developed and used with men were less useful for predicting and facilitating the career development of women. According to Osipow (1975), women become discouraged by sex-role prescriptions from developing and implementing certain abilities, interests, and personality characteristics, as well as being effectively barred from participating in certain occupations or occupational environments. Thus, both the personal and environmental components of the matching model may be distorted by the expectations and requirements of sex roles, a finding which complicated the application of this model to women.

Similarly, many traditional women may not actually progress through a stage of exploration, nor successfully crystallize and specify a choice. Rather, female exploration may actually be pseudoexploration, pending marriage plans; true vocational development may occur later, when child rearing duties have been largely completed. Early research support for this can be found in Ginzberg et al. (1951). In their small sample of Barnard College women, the pattern of career development that had pre-

viously been similar to that of men began to diverge during the transition to the Realistic period. Although these women were highly select in terms of their ability, they began to be strongly oriented toward marriage, to show greater uncertainty concerning career-related decisions, and to be less work-oriented than their male counterparts.

These considerations give rise to the major tenet of career counseling with women. This tenet proposes that, *despite basic similarities, the career development of women is more complex than that of men.* This complexity is due mainly to the effect of the woman's socialization process, the ubiquitous expectation that all women will or should engage in child rearing, and the concomitant notion that child rearing is antithetical to, or takes precedence over, career involvement. Severe conflict is engendered in women by these considerations. The process is further complicated by the existence of discrimination in selection, promotion, and compensation, sexual harassment in the work place, and a host of other "real world" factors beyond the scope of the present chapter; a thorough discussion of such issues can be found in Fitzgerald and Betz (1983).

Given the foregoing discussion, the rest of this chapter will present a systematic approach to career counseling for use with the female client. It is based on a synthesis of the matching and developmental models and highlighted by a focus on the identification and resolution of sex-role conflict.

CAREER COUNSELING WOMEN: PRINCIPLES

All counseling and psychotherapy begin with some form of diagnosis. For career counseling with women, a useful approach to diagnosis can be extrapolated from Super's (1957) tripartite appraisal system. Super suggests that the counselor and the client cooperate in an active attempt to develop a thorough picture of the client's characteristics and history (*person appraisal*), the problems that the client is having in career decision making (*problem appraisal*), and finally, the client's chances for success and satisfaction in each of her various options (*prognostic appraisal*).

Person appraisal involves the gathering of information concerning the client's interests and abilities, her educational background and attainment, socioeconomic status, family background, and present family circumstances. Less common, but critical to work with women, is the assessment of sex-role attitudes, in particular, the client's view of the home/career interface. Is she home or work oriented? Are her views traditional or nontraditional? This information is extremely important for a complete understanding of the client.

Once a clear picture of the client has been developed, it is then possible to make an appraisal of the problem. In the most general case, there are two basic problems that can occur in career decision making: *indecision* and *unrealism*. In other words, either the client is unable to make a choice or the choice that has been made is a poor one. A poor, or unrealistic, choice usually occurs when there is a lack of fit between the client's interests and/or abilities and those required or rewarded by the

job. Clinical experience as well as formal research suggest that the most common situation is for women to make choices that are unrealistically *low*; that is, they select and enter careers for which they are overqualified in terms of ability (Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980). Obviously, many bright young women who could become physicians become nurses instead, and many more who could complete law school become paralegals or legal secretaries. It is with these clients, labeled by Crites (1981) as *unfulfilled*, that the assessment and discussion of sex-role attitudes become most critical.

It is possible, of course, to have aspirations that are unrealistically high, rather than disproportionately low. Clinical experience suggests that this type of unrealism appears more often to characterize male clients. Among women, it is most often found in those clients who wish to return to work after an absence of many years devoted to family responsibilities. Returning women, as a group, appear characterized by a lack of self-confidence and assertiveness, at least in the beginning stages of their return. Some of these clients, however, angry at what they may construe as wasted years and determined to make up for what has been lost, initially select occupations for which they do not have the necessary ability. One example is that of a 43-year-old client who lost her husband to divorce, and with him, her standard of living, her security, and so forth. Finding the divorce proceedings, which were highly acrimonious and bitter, to be extremely painful and unfair, she determined to become an attorney to represent other women in similar situations. This was despite the fact that she had an IQ of 108 and a high school education that was 25 years old. The task of the counselor here was the delicate one of weaning her from an unrealistic choice through judicious reality testing, while at the same time taking care to support her burgeoning independence and self-esteem. With unrealistic clients, examining the attitudinal base for the client's decision is most important.

Finally, some women will report choices in which they lack any measured interest, a type of unrealism that has been labeled *coerced*, to indicate that these women are carrying out the wishes of others rather than their own. Again, the coerced client is more often male than female, no doubt due to the heavier pressure society places on the man to "follow in his father's footsteps." The therapeutic task here, whatever the sex of the client, is to assist clients to separate their own wishes from those of significant others, to clarify and consolidate the self-concept, and to move toward selecting a choice more congruent with that self-concept.

Not all "coerced" clients are coerced, in the sense described above. Another fairly common pattern is for clients to select careers based on extrinsic factors, such as status, salary, or the labor market, despite the fact that they are not at all interested in the training, tasks, or activities that are required. This pattern is reflected in the current "stampede" of students into computer-related and data processing fields. Although the influence of intrinsic versus extrinsic satisfiers on job satisfaction is not completely understood, it seems logical to explore the possibilities for career choice that combine both factors, rather than opting to blindly follow the lure of the current labor market. Even returning women or displaced homemakers with very little education and few skills usually

have some options as to how to earn a living. Individuals vary in their preference for such basic dimensions as inside work versus outside work, people oriented versus solitary, and active versus sedentary. Assisting the client to review these preferences and select options results in a sense of choicefulness and control, often sadly lacking in women who feel at the mercy of current economic patterns to meet their most basic needs.

In contrast to these problems of unrealism, the *undecided* client is unable to specify any clear choice. She may have a choice but be uncertain that it is a good one. She may have multiple options that she is unable to narrow down. Most commonly, she may be totally unable to say what she wishes to do because she is completely undecided. It is important here for the counselor to determine whether this lack of decision is due merely to a lack of information concerning self or work. This is not uncommon for young people from rural backgrounds or returning women whose early marriages have truncated previous exploration. On the other hand is the condition of more pervasive *indecisiveness* (Goodstein, 1972; Crites, 1981) stemming from preexisting anxiety concerning the making of decisions. Women are particularly subject to this kind of indecisiveness, due to patterns of child rearing entailing overprotectiveness of the female child and the punishment of any kind of independent action. This condition is perpetuated in marriage, where the husband assumes the parental role of decision maker, resulting in pervasive anxiety concerning decision making, inability to commit to a choice for fear of being wrong or "stupid," and additional anxiety arising as a consequence of this inability. The appropriate treatment for indecisiveness consists of deconditioning the anxiety through pairing its stimulus, discussion of decision making, with the nonthreatening, accepting presence of the therapist. Only when the client is less anxious does the counselor begin to facilitate the actual decision-making process. In particular, many women require a permissive atmosphere and a great deal of acceptance to enable them to explore the possibilities of working at all, due to anxiety and guilt concerning the appropriateness of such behavior and the resulting role conflict.

In addition to some determination of the client's difficulty (e.g., unrealism, indecision, indecisiveness), problem appraisal should include an assessment of *how* the client is approaching the decision-making process. Is she active or passive? Can she be described as dependent or independent? Is she intrinsically or extrinsically motivated? Can she accurately assess herself and the world, select goals, plan their implementation, and solve problems that arise in the process? Counselors should note these indicators of the client's career maturity (Crites, 1978) in the problem appraisal.

Finally, after determining the *what* and *why* of the difficulty and assessing *how* the client is dealing with it, the counselor assesses outcomes (prognostic appraisal) by forecasting the client's chances of success and satisfaction. This includes predictions of how she will respond to counseling and an assessment of her probable adjustment to the discovered options. An outline for this tripartite vocational appraisal, adapted from Crites (1981) for work with women, appears in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Outline for Vocational Appraisal for Women. From Career Counseling (p. 121–123) *by J.O. Crites, 1981, New York: McGraw-Hill. Copyright 1981 by McGraw-Hill, Inc. Adapted by permission.*

TITLE: ("Vocational Appraisal of _____")

PERSONAL APPRAISAL (Description of the individual in terms of her psychological, sociological, and physical characteristics.)

Present Status and Functioning: (1) What is the client's level of general aptitude? What are her special aptitudes? Interests? Work-related needs (e.g., status, security, leadership) and personality characteristics (e.g., dominance, dependence, nurturance, autonomy)? What are her attitudes towards the role of women in society? Beliefs about family and career? Motherhood and career? What is her level of career salience (e.g., how important is working to her)? What are her attitudes towards nontraditional occupations? What is her educational background and achievement? Socioeconomic status? (2) How is the client adjusting to the various aspects of her environment, e.g., school, parents, husband, or boyfriend? What is her self-concept? Daily pattern of living (sleeping, eating, study, work, recreational habits)? What are the nature and quality of relationships with others? What is her general level of adjustment? What is her general sex-role orientation (traditional, nontraditional, androgynous)?

Developmental History: (1) Has the client had any significant illness that affected her psychosocial development, or left her with any special disability or handicap? (2) What is her family background? Intact- or single-parent home? Number, order, and sex of siblings? What were her family's attitudes towards the role of women? Did her mother work outside the home? If so, what did she do? What were the nature of her other role models? Did her father encourage her in vocational planning and pursuits? (3) Early interests and abilities (hobbies, sports, organizations, and so forth)? (4) Early vocational choices and plans? (5) School achievement and adjustment (grades, attitudes toward school, best- and least-liked subjects, favorite teachers, and so forth)? Any evidence of math-related anxiety? Fear of success?

PROBLEM APPRAISAL (Identification of the client's problem, assessment of strengths as well as weaknesses, for example, motivation to change self or assume responsibility for problem solution, adaptability and flexibility, assertiveness, equanimity and sense of humor, etc.).

Vocational Problem: (1) What is the client's problem, i.e., what is the differential diagnosis? Is she undecided, unrealistic, unfulfilled, or what? (2) What are her attitudes towards the choice process, e.g., how involved is she in the decision-making process? How does she perceive occupations, as ends in themselves, or as means to other ends? Is she willing to compromise? How does she reason through the problem of choice? Is

(Figure 2 continued)

she independent or dependent in her decision making? (3) Evaluate whether the client's problem arises because of immaturity or because of some maladjustment. Does she simply not know how to choose an occupation, or is she conflicted to the extent that she cannot make the appropriate response? What role does sex role conflict play in the problem?

Factors Related to Vocational Problem: (1) What part is played by the client's family in her choice problem? What is the role of her parents, boyfriend or husband, children, and so forth? (2) What is the relationship of her personality to her choice problem? (3) What other factors, such as financial resources, marriage plans, plans for child rearing, academic achievement, fear of success, and so forth, are relevant?

PROGNOSTIC APPRAISAL (Predictions about the client's future behavior in counseling or on the job)

Vocational Counseling: (1) Motivation. How well will the client respond to counseling? Will she work on the problem, or does she want the counselor to tell her what to do? Why did she apply for counseling, and what are her expectations of the process? Is the client seriously involved in the vocational choice process, or is she merely looking for "something to fall back on?" (2) Interview behavior. How will the client respond verbally? Will she talk readily or not? How will she relate to the counselor? Will she be dependent, aggressive, aloof, or what? (3) Goals and plans. What can be achieved with the client? Should the counselor give her test and occupational information, or also try to think through the career problem with the client? Should the counselor focus only upon the specific choice problem of the individual, or help the client learn how to solve other vocational problems that may occur in the future? Can the counseling be primarily vocational in nature, or should personal adjustment counseling precede a consideration of the individual's vocational problem? How can counseling best be implemented? What techniques should be used?

Vocational Adjustment: (1) Success. What occupations are within the client's capabilities? (2) Satisfaction. In which occupation is the client most likely to find satisfaction? What problems might her personality create for her on the job? (3) Is the client able to support herself financially if she wishes or finds it necessary to do so? What basic, salable skills does she have? (4) Contingencies. What factors might either facilitate or adversely affect the individual's future vocational adjustment if they occur? For example, marriage, husband's job transfer, children, new pregnancy, responsibility for aging parents, incompatible social life or obligations, home-career conflict, etc.

SUMMARY (A "thumbnail" sketch of the client that pulls together the various parts of the vocational appraisal).

CAREER COUNSELING WOMEN: PROCEDURES

Following the completion of the assessment phase, career counseling proper begins. Depending on the diagnosis made, treatment procedures will vary. Clients who are uncertain about their choices often need little more than validation that their plans are appropriate. Clients with no specifiable options will need to work their way through the entire process of assessment, decision making, and reality testing. Indecisive clients usually require longer term treatment of a more traditionally therapeutic nature, while unrealistic clients need to engage in reality testing and a possible redefinition of self and goals.

These procedures vary little from the traditional ones that counselors use successfully with male clients. It is in the treatment of sex-role definitions and conflict, currently unique to women, that innovative techniques are required. Three procedures that seem promising are: sex-role analysis, the upending of expectancies, and the definition and construction of need hierarchies.

Sex-role analysis, a technique borrowed from feminist therapy, is a method for focusing on the costs and benefits of fulfilling the traditional female role, versus choosing a more nontraditional role. For example, Rawlings and Carter (1977) suggest that the traditional ban on assertiveness, aggression, and power striving for women has the assumed benefits of being taken care of by men and shielded from the anxiety of competition and risk-taking. Yet it also results in the costs of feeling powerless, depending on fair play from others, and lacking the opportunity to develop confidence and determination. In contrast, these authors suggest that development of a full range of interpersonal skills and personal power results in greater satisfaction in personal and professional relationships, a sense of control over one's life, and self-respect. They also note that the costs of such a nontraditional approach include taking the risk of overt rejection from men and giving up the option of relying on others for protection.

Adapting this cost-and-benefit technique to career counseling with women is a relatively simple matter. Table 1 presents a comparative analysis of some costs and benefits of traditional and nontraditional career roles for an undecided female client with high-level ability and strong medical interests. This form of career/sex-role analysis can be extremely effective in a group or workshop context as well as in individual counseling. Although the procedure described above is extremely structured, a counselor can also use sex-role analysis by simply bringing unconscious sex-role expectations to the client's attention when appropriate. This less structured technique blends into that procedure that Fitzgerald and Crites (1980) have labeled "upending" the client's expectancies. The upending approach appears more appropriate for use with younger, less sophisticated clients or highly traditional women who might be threatened by the more powerful, straightforward sex-role analysis. The counselor can upend traditional role expectancies that often constitute competing response tendencies to appropriate career decision making by suggesting and reinforcing discussion of nontraditional options consistent with the client's interests and abilities. This is true not only for the high-ability, college-educated client, but for her lower-ability, less well-educated coun-

Table 1

A Comparative Analysis of Some Costs and Benefits of Homemaker, Traditional, and Nontraditional Career Roles

*Benefits**	*Costs*
Full-time homemaker (some volunteer hospital work; Gray Ladies)	
Economic security*; no pressure to achieve; being taken care of*; being shielded from competition and risk taking; not threatening to men; development of positive feminine qualities of nurturance, warmth, sympathy, etc.	Lack of training and skills; economic and emotional dependency; lack of control over one's life; feelings of powerlessness and low self-esteem.*
Nursing	
Economic self-sufficiency; possession of own social and professional status; self-respect and self-esteem; less threatening to men.	Great responsibility with little authority; still subordinate to men; low-status professional role; may be threatening to men; possibility of home/career conflict.
Physician	
Economic freedom and security; high social and professional status; full development of competencies and skills; self-respect and self-esteem; power and authority; development of qualities of agency as well as communion.	Pressure to achieve; competitive stress; risk of overt rejection from men; risk of home/career conflict.

**Benefits and costs that are starred are not guaranteed*; they are traditionally assumed to occur.

Note. From *Psychotherapy for Women* (p. 68–69) by E.I. Rawlings and D.K. Carter (Eds.), 1977, Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas. Copyright 1977 by Charles C Thomas. Adapted by permission.

terpart as well. There are many technical, skilled, or semiskilled jobs traditionally performed by men that require no more ability than the low-level clerical jobs traditionally performed by women; yet, these positions are much better compensated in salary, benefits, and status. Some forms of police work, the military, and automobile and computer sales are only a few of the occupational areas that probably would never be considered without the counselor's changing the client's frame of reference.

Harmon (1977) noted the value of Maslow's need hierarchy for analyzing and understanding the sometimes contradictory behavior of female clients. She notes that the basic needs (physiological and safety needs) tend to be fulfilled differently by women and men. Men meet these needs directly through their own labor, whereas women more often gratify these needs through their association with someone else. For example, a husband's or father's labor assures that her needs for food and shelter will be met and her environment will be safe. Harmon further states that there is a good deal of conflict involved for women in meeting their higher-order needs for self-esteem and self-actualization. Those who reach beyond the typical woman's job (secretary, nurse, or teacher) are risking the loss of belongingness, love, and esteem. Women are not always loved for their successes, particularly if they are of a nontraditional sort; thus, women may have to trade self-esteem in order to receive esteem and love from others. Harmon points out that most career counseling deals mainly with the gratification of higher-order needs and that many women may not be prepared for such career counseling. Until a woman is meeting her basic subsistence needs *through her own efforts* and has addressed the conflict issues between sex-role expectations and self-esteem needs, she will not be able to address the question, "What will make me happy and allow me to grow as a person?" Harmon suggests that counselors determine where the client is on Maslow's hierarchy, understand how she got there, and develop a plan for treatment appropriate to that level.

CAREER COUNSELING WOMEN: PROBLEMS

Career counseling with women is a complex process involving careful appraisal and diagnosis, combined with the necessity for innovative treatment techniques. In addition, other difficulties, both technical and psychological, combine to make the counseling process a highly challenging one. These problems are the focus of the following section.

Inadequacies of Measurement and Informational Techniques

The problems of counseling the traditional female client are the same as those posed by any client with premature closure (a client who has selected an unrealistic occupation without sufficient information gathering and reality testing). The task is for the counselor to engage the client in further exploration. Unfortunately, the principal technical aids to career counseling, interest inventories and occupational information materials, have been constructed to reinforce the premature closure of the female client rather than to encourage further exploration. Until relatively recently, there were separate interest inventories for men and women. Those for women compared the clients' interests only to those of women in the traditional "women's" occupations. More recently, such inventories have been combined with those designed for men, thus reducing the more blatant forms of stereotyping. However, many problems remain. Sex differences in the base rates of item endorsement combined with inadequate or inappropriate norm groups often ensure that the results from these instruments continue to suggest the familiar, traditional occupations to women.

Although the technical arguments continue, the most appropriate practice seems to be selecting interest inventories that provide *same-sex norms* and a wide range of occupational options for both sexes. The Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory, Kuder Occupational Interest Survey (Form DD), and the Career Assessment Inventory (technical/semi-skilled level) meet these criteria. In addition, sex-balanced measures of *basic* interests may be less limiting than those that inventory occupational interests. Examples of such inventories are the UNIACT Interest Inventory and the Vocational Interest Inventory (VII). Finally, some highly innovative, unstructured techniques are available (i.e., the Non-Sexist Vocational Card Sort, Dewey, 1974). A brief description of these inventories including a principal reference or source for each appears in Table 2.

In addition to sex bias in interest inventories, counselors have been faced with the problem of inadequate and highly stereotyped materials of occupational information. Although this situation appears to be improving considerably, the problem is often a subtle one. Counselors are

Table 2

Vocational Interest Inventories Recommended for Use with Women

Name/Source	*Description*
Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory (SCII) (4th ed.) Authors: Jo-Ida C. Hansen & David P. Campbell Publisher: Consulting Psychologists Press	Yields scores on basic and occupational interests, with same-sex, cross-sex, and combined norms. All scores are classified into Holland categories. The inventory is useful mainly for clients with professional-level interests.
Career Assessment Inventory (CAI) Author: Charles Johanssen Publisher: NCS Interpretive Scoring Systems 4491 W. 76 Street Minneapolis, MN 55435	Similar in format, content, and scoring to the SCII, this instrument is designed for clients at the semi-skilled, technical, and semi-professional levels. Utilizes combined-sex occupational norm groups.
Kuder Occupational Interest Survey—DD (Revised) (KOIS) Author: G. Frederick Kuder Publisher: Science Research Associates, Inc. 155 N. Wacker Drive Chicago, IL 60606	Yields scores on occupational and college major scales based on separate sex norms. Scores are listed in order of strength of interests. Covers both professional and nonprofessional occupations.

UNI-ACT Hanson, G., Prediger, G., & Schussel, R. (1977). *Development and validation of sex-balanced interest inventory scales.* (ACT Research Report No. 78.) Iowa City, IA: American College Testing Program. Prediger, D., & Hansen, G. (1978). Must interest inventories provide males and females with divergent vocational guidance? *Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance, 11,* 88–98.	A 90-item inventory composed of six basic interest scales that are sex-balanced at the item level. Yields Holland theme scores.
Vocational Interest Inventory (VII) Author: P. W. Lunneborg Publisher: Western Psychological Services 12031 Wilshire Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90025	A 112-item inventory in a forced-choice format. The VII is constructed to eliminate sex differences at the item level, and its scores (basic interests classified according to Roe's system) are thus standardized on a mixed-sex sample.
Non-Sexist Vocational Card Sort (NSVCS) (unpublished) Dewey, C. R. (1974). Exploring interests: A non-sexist method. *Personnel and Guidance Journal, 52,* 311–315.	An unstructured vocational interest exploration that yields occupations for clients to consider, and clinically derived constructs that underlie occupational likes and dislikes. Occupations are classified by Holland codes.

urged to counteract it through use of the more active forms of information gathering (i.e., interviewing) to supplement stereotyped materials.

Client Socialization

One of the most difficult and frustrating problems for career counselors is that many female clients refuse to engage in meaningful career exploration. This is particularly true for young women. Even when confronted with strong evidence of their ability, along with information indicating that the average American woman will spend 20 years in the work place (most often because of financial necessity), these women reject careers and opt instead to marry and rear children. This leads to frustration for the counselor who believes in self-determination and the responsibility of the client for her own decisions, but knows that it is not in anyone's best interest to be totally economically dependent on the good will and good health of another person. Fitzgerald and Crites (1980) concluded that the notion of free will and self-determination is not meaningful when the client has been so thoroughly socialized. Similarly, they note that

high-minded distress over the supposed ethical implications of the counselor's "imposing" his or her value system seems misplaced. All counseling and psychotherapy involve intervention in the client's value system as a necessary element of treatment. The question, then, is not so much *whether* to intervene, but *how* to most effectively do so. Although some procedures have been described above and others are outlined in the references, it often seems that the best that can be done for many young women is "damage control." In other words, the counselor attempts to ensure that they acquire some salable skill or ability, however unsuited to their interests and talents—the old notion of "having something to fall back on." Secretarial skills or dental assisting have supported many returning women through college as well as law school, medical school, and graduate training in nuclear physics! The counselor must attempt to ensure that the client is able to meet her basic needs on her own, should she ever be ready, or required, to do so.

Counselor Bias

A more subtle barrier to effective work with the female client is often presented by the counselor her/himself. No less than others, counselors have been socialized by the cultural milieu of our time. A large body of research has accumulated indicating that career counselors have strongly reinforced traditional career paths for women, even when the clients' interests and abilities indicated that such paths were unrealistic. Even more discouraging are data indicating that counselors have actively discouraged nontraditional career choices while strongly upholding the notion that marriage-motherhood and meaningful career involvement are mutually exclusive options. It is important that female counselors resolve their own sex-role conflict so they can serve as appropriate role models as well as care givers. The universality of sex-role conflict for women implies that judicious sharing of one's own reactions and feelings can be a powerful agent of validation and support for change for the client. On the other hand, male counselors who have worked through their own reactions to changing sex roles can assist the client by granting permission to explore beyond the traditional boundaries without losing the approval from a significant male figure. Also, the modeling of an egalitarian, cooperative relationship between the male counselor and female client can have a facilitative effect on her personal as well as career development.

Counselors with strongly traditional sex-role attitudes probably should not attempt to do career counseling with women. Sex-role bias is one of the strongest and most visceral of prejudices. It seems impossible that it would not result in a limitation rather than facilitation, of client growth. Counselors who are interested in exploring and expanding their sex-role awareness are urged to read, participate in training groups, and experiment with personal life styles.

SUMMARY

Something which goes widely unrecognized by psychologists who do career counseling, and particularly by those who don't, is the strong

therapeutic effect that such counseling has on the client's general adjustment. Crites (1981) noted that even fairly traditional trait-and-factor career counseling significantly increased personal adjustment as indexed by the discrepancy between self and ideal-self Q-sorts. It is not surprising that this should be so, as work is our principal point of contact with reality, and it constitutes a deeply personal statement about who, and what, we are. In career counseling with women, more than with any other form of intervention, is taken for granted the dictum, "All that one can be, one must be, in order to be happy."

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CHAPTER 10

Adult Men's Career Transitions and Gender-Role Themes

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A man's view of career gender roles is central to his personal identity, self-esteem, and developmental change. Many men experience career transitions that prompt redefinition of their gender roles and masculine values. Some men strive to demonstrate their success. Others try to avoid seeming feminine, but harbor fears about their femininity. Many men have difficulty recognizing the transitional nature of their gender and career roles. Some resist change, fearing losses of power and status. Many men experience difficulty with transitions and need special assistance maneuvering life's unpredictable events.

This chapter investigates the interaction of men's gender roles and career transitions. Hansen (1984) recommended an analysis of how gender and career processes interact. No collective analysis of men's gender role themes and career transitions has emerged in career psychology. Empirical research on career and gender role transitions is quite scarce due to limited concepts to explain what transitions mean to men. Career development theory can expand its framework by examining how masculinity and femininity are driving forces in people's lives. Currently, few concepts describe how adult, career, and gender role development run parallel courses over the life span. The purpose of this chapter is to define, describe, and delineate men's career transitions and gender role themes.

The essence of this chapter can be summarized in the following way. Men: (a) redefine their career and gender role identities over the life cycle; (b) experience numerous career transitions; (c) struggle with gender role themes during career transitions; (d) experience gender role conflict during career transitions from career socialization and fears of femininity; (e) experience gender role devaluation, restriction, and violation during career transitions. Many of these assumptions are applicable to women but our focus is exclusively on men.

The chapter makes numerous assumptions about how gender and career interact in men's lives (Hansen, 1984). Foremost, we suggest that knowledge of gender socialization over the life cycle is essential for counseling men in career transition. It is important for counselors to be familiar with how men learn their masculine values over the life span. This includes recognizing how men may be threatened by their femininity and fear ridicule if they deviate from masculine norms and standards. Second, we assume that by identifying men's career transitions, greater understanding of men's gender role conflicts and strains can be gained. Third, we propose that men's career transitions are best understood by identifying gender role themes that can negatively affect the transitions. Fourth, we posit that men can experience gender role change during their career transitions. Therefore, knowledge of gender role themes is essential for helping men redefine their career goals and personal self-concepts. As men change over the life cycle, they may ask significant questions about the meaning of their masculinity and femininity (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). These questions emerge from early gender role socialization as well as from a man's beliefs about what is appropriate masculinity. Fifth, we assume that men experience emotional feelings of devaluation, restriction, and violation during career transitions and as they redefine gender role themes over the life span. Finally, we assume that career transitions and gender role themes can be assessed during career counseling and psychotherapy.

This chapter has numerous sections that expand on the above assumptions. The first three sections define transition, briefly review adult and career development theory, and enumerate 22 career transitions in men's lives. These transitions provide practitioners with a comprehensive list of critical events that can change the meaning of a man's career and self-concept. Sections 4–9 define gender role conflict and discuss men's career socialization as interacting with 15 gender role themes. Furthermore, these themes and conflicts are described as having specific emotional effects on men. Finally, an illustrative case study of Mr. Throck Morton's career transitions is provided to elucidate the chapter's concepts. Implications of the case study and chapter themes for practitioners are made.

ADULT DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSITIONS: FOUNDATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING CHANGING MEN

Counseling adult men requires background in adult development theory and life transitions. There are substantial bodies of knowledge and conceptual frameworks to intervene with men in transitions. Although theory has grown faster than empirical data, there is a rich theoretical base in adult development to understand life cycle changes.

A complete analysis of adult development themes is beyond the scope of this chapter. Yet, certain themes provide a foundation for our analysis. First, adult development is continuous and results from multiple influences of biological, psychological, and environmental determinants (Danish, 1981). Second, changes are rarely smooth, ongoing, and related. There can be varying degrees of stress and strain throughout adulthood

(Hopson, 1981; Schlossberg, 1984; Gould, 1978; Brammer & Abrego, 1981; Offer & Sabshin, 1984; Lowenthal, Thurnher, & Chiriboga, 1975). Third, responding to life cycle events requires personal adaptation and flexibility. Many times new self-assumptions and behavioral repertories are needed to meet the demands of new situations (Schlossberg, 1984; Brammer & Abrego, 1981; Gould, 1978; Troll, 1981; Parkes, 1971; Brim, 1976; Brim & Ryff, 1980; Moos & Tsu, 1976; Hopson & Adams, 1977). Fourth, career and gender roles changes in adulthood are continuous and require self introspection, assertiveness, and coping skills (Levinson et al., 1978; Brammer & Abrego; Super, 1957; Vaillant, 1977).

Transition, as a theoretical construct, has become a dominant theme in life-span psychology and adult development literature (Brammer & Abergo, 1981; Brim, 1976; Hopson & Adams, 1977; Levinson et al., 1978; Lowenthal et al., 1975; Schlossberg, 1981, 1984; Vaillant, 1977). Schlossberg (1981; 1984) has developed a thorough conceptualization of adults in transition. She defines a transition as "an event or nonevent that results in a change in assumption about oneself and the world and thus requires a corresponding change in one's behavior and relationships" (Schlossberg, 1981, p. 5). Transitions are part of human development and include changes in values, world views, and personal appearance. Few individuals escape these transitions and many experience them as painful life adjustments. There are gains and losses in stamina, life structures, and personal dreams. Two transitional areas identified for adults are career development and gender role development. Each will be defined and discussed in subsequent sections of the chapter.

ADULT CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEORY AND GENDER ROLES

The theory, research, and practice in career psychology has been primarily focused on adolescents rather than older adults (Campbell & Heffernan, 1983; Harmon & Farmer, 1983; Srebalus, Marinelli, & Messing, 1982). Theories of adult development over the life span have yet to be fully integrated with career development concepts. Harmon and Farmer indicated that the ". . . adult stages and transitions have some rather obvious applications to vocational behavior, but most of them are not even well established, let alone integrated in the theories of vocational behavior" (p. 49). Efforts to describe the stages of career development have been evident in the literature (Ginsberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma, 1951; Miller & Form, 1951; Super, 1957). Adult career development has been most notably defined by Super's (1957) developmental theory. Super proposed stages of growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline. Other concepts in Super's theory described the processes of choosing, implementing, and terminating careers (Super, 1980; 1984). More recently, there has been increased literature on adult career development (Brown, 1984; Campbell & Cellini, 1981; Herr & Cramer, 1979; Osipow, 1983). Campbell & Heffernan have written the most substantive synthesis of adult vocational behavior by reviewing Erikson, Havighurst, Levinson, et al., Miller and Form, Super, and Schein. Their synthesis produced four major phases of the career development cycle including:

(1) preparation for an occupation and obtaining a job, (2) demonstration of competence in and adjustment to a new work environment, (3) maintenance or advancement of one's position in an established occupation; and (4) decline in involvement with the work place. These stages were named preparation, establishment, maintenance, and retirement, and are consistent with Super & Hall's (1978) synthesis. The utility of these career development stages lies in their capacity to describe career movement as a continuous, ongoing process. What has not been systematically identified are the specific transitions that collectively fall in the stages described by Super (1957), Super and Hall, and Campbell and Heffernan. These transitions are to be described in later sections of the chapter.

Gender roles were discussed in nearly every sector of society in the 1970s. Most of the discussion emerged from the feminist and women's movements and focused on the limitations of current theories and on how gender role stereotypes prohibited women's entry into a wide variety of careers. During the 1970s there was a published text on women's career development (Osipow, 1975), and numerous authors theorized that gender roles affected women's career decision making (Farmer, 1976; Harmon, 1977; O'Neil, Meeker, & Borgers, 1978; Vetter, 1973). More recently, Fitzgerald and Crites (1980) have summarized much of the literature on career psychology of women and Fitzgerald and Betz (1983) have completed the most extensive review of women's gender and career roles. Other authors have provided theoretical insights (Farmer, 1985; Gottfredson, 1981; Hansen, 1984), and practical suggestions have been made for career counseling with women (Fitzgerald & Crites, 1979; Hotchkiss & Borow, 1984; Richardson, 1979).

Overall, the current literature on gender roles and career development has been focused on women, whereas men's gender roles have been a neglected area of research. Morgan, Skovholt, and Orr (1979) indicated that "career counseling theories, being by necessity general explanations of career behavior, have nothing specific to say about the special problems of men" (p. 263). There is a need for more comprehensive frameworks to view men's career and gender role transitions over the life cycle. These frameworks need to be based on what is known about career transitions, to which we now turn.

MEN'S CAREER TRANSITIONS IDENTIFIED

Given the many changes in a man's career, there is a need to identify and define the transitions that affect a man's career identity. Career transitions are defined as events or nonevents in the career development process that cause changes in the status or meaning of the career (O'Neil & Fishman, 1985a). The transition process may be initiated by events or nonevents resulting in changed assumptions about oneself and the world and thus requiring a corresponding change in one's career behavior and relationships (Schlossberg, 1981; 1984). Career transitions can emanate from external events as well as internal or personal dynamics. They usually result in some change in the man's status, roles, and responsibilities. These changes offer opportunities for renewal and growth, but

loss, stagnation, and failure can occur also. Most career transitions are "high stake" experiences because they affect economic, familial, and psychological dimensions of the person.

An analysis of career transitions by Super (1957) still remains the most complete treatise on career transitions available. Extending Super's work, Table 1 lists and defines 21 career transitions of adult men. The transitions are listed on the left and each is operationally defined on the right. The transitions extend over the stages of career development, but are not completely exhaustive.

Table 1

Summary of Career Transitions of Adult Men

Career Transitions	*Definitions*
(1) Initial Career Choice	First decision about career area to pursue
(2) Obtaining Skill Development/Training	Obtaining expertise in career or job area
(3) First Job	Initial work pursued after training or education
(4) Career Advancement (new job)	Promotion in career choice with new responsibilities
(5) Career Change	Decision to pursue a different career
(6) Loss of Interest or Meaning in Career	Career and work loses its intrinsic value and status
(7) Serious Conflicts with Supervisor, Colleagues, or Work Setting	Continuous and severe difficulties with co-workers, supervisor, or setting resulting in stress and strain
(8) Being Fired or Unemployed	Losing your job
(9) Rapid Success	Back-to-back accomplishments over short period of time
(10) Rapid Failure	Back-to-back diminishments or defeats
(11) Rapid Income Loss	Quick loss in money earned
(12) Demotion	Being reduced to a lower grade or rank
(13) Leveling off—Job Peaking	Not being promoted to the next highest level or achieving the highest level possible
(14) Working with Women	Interaction with women as subordinates, supervisors, or peers

(15) Burnout	Fatigue and loss of interest in work because of overwork, role overload, and unhappiness
(16) Loss of Mentor	Relationship change with person who has sponsored and supported your career
(17) Becoming a Mentor	Taking on role of resource, sponsor, and transitional figure for another person entering a career
(18) Lost Career Dream or Goal	Recognition that ultimate career aspiration is not attainable
(19) Aging, Loss of Stamina and Endurance	Decreasing energy to perform in career role
(20) Preretirement	Period of time when plans for retirement are made
(21) Retirement	Period of time when formal work-career ends

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Reviewing these 21 career transitions, it is evident they span Super and Hall's (1978) and Campbell and Heffernan's (1983) career stages of preparation, establishment, maintenance, and retirement. Many of these transitions could be experienced in more than one of Super's stages. Therefore, the transitions cannot be assigned to any age or stage contingent on any career, gender, or adult development theory. Career transitions do not necessarily occur in a smooth continuous pattern, but rather are experienced differentially by each man. Additionally, a man's experience of these transitions depends on his personal perception of the change and his coping resources.

Numerous transitions found in Table 1 (1, 3, 19, 20, 21) result from the age and physical characteristics of the man. Some have the potential for increasing men's career satisfaction (4, 5, 9, 17) whereas others are clearly threatening or adverse (8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15). Many transitions (2, 6, 7, 14, 16, 17, 18) have more moderate psychological implications that parallel normal developmental changes. A number of transitions (7, 8, 12, 14, 16, 17) affect work or family relationships in significant ways. In some cases, the absence of a transition occurring may indicate a problem area for the man (1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 17).

These 21 career transitions may signal areas in a client's life where career stresses and strains predictably occur. As such, these career transitions are viewed as normative career events that may shift a client into a state of disequilibrium. The extent to which these career transitions are perceived as positive or negative relates to the individual's capacity to make new career and personal adjustments. Almost all transitions place demands on men that result in stresses and strains. Each situation calls for varying degrees of adaptation and different coping mechanisms.

All the transitions can result in men's redefining themselves and their worlds.

The transitions in Table 1 provide counseling practitioners with some typical male career transitions. Many of these transitions have direct relevance for women across the life cycle. Practitioners can use the list to assess a client's transitional situations. By discussing the series of career transitions with a client, emphasis can be placed on discovering the unique meaning of each transition. The recently developed Career Transitions Checklist (CTC, O'Neil & Fishman, 1985b) is a simple means of helping clients and adults assess their past, present, and future transitions. Although this instrument needs empirical research and development, it puts into operation the concepts in Table 1.

GENDER ROLES AND GENDER ROLE CONFLICT

The career transitions specified above are not usually experienced separately from a man's gender role identity. Gender roles are behaviors, expectations, and role sets defined by society as masculine or feminine that are embodied in the behavior of the individual man or woman and culturally regarded as appropriate to men or women (O'Neil, 1981a; 1981b; 1982). These roles are learned through gender role socialization and change with the demands of adulthood and aging (Moreland, 1979; 1980). Gender role conflict is a psychological state where gender roles have negative consequences or impact on the person or others. The ultimate outcome of this conflict is the restriction of the person's human potential or the restriction of someone else's potential. Gender role conflict occurs when rigid, sexist, or restrictive gender roles, learned during socialization, result in the personal restriction or devaluation of others or self (O'Neil, 1981a; 1981b; 1982). One outcome of gender role conflict is gender role strain. This occurs when mental or physical tension is experienced as a result of the expectations and norms of masculinity, femininity, and androgyny. Garnets and Pleck (1979) operationally define sex-role strain "as a discrepancy between the real self and that part of the ideal self-concept that is culturally associated with gender" (p. 278). They believe that sex-role strain is an intrapsychic process that can lead to poor psychological adjustment, particularly low self-esteem. It is hypothesized that inflexible sex-role norms set standards that do not allow people to freely express themselves (Komarovsky, 1976).

There seem to be four ways to conceptualize gender role conflict that provide categories for assessment (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, in press). First, gender role conflict can be experienced as a cognition—how we think about gender roles and aspects of our masculinity, femininity, and androgyny. Second, gender role conflict can be experienced as affect—how we feel about gender roles and conflicts within ourselves and those of others. Third, gender role conflict can be experienced as behavior—how we act, respond, and relate to ourselves. Fourth, gender role conflict can be experienced as an unconscious and intrapsychic phenomenon. This implies that some gender role conflicts are repressed and beyond our conscious awareness. How we think, feel, and

behave because of gender roles is a useful parameter to assess gender role conflict in adulthood.

There has been no comprehensive analysis of gender role conflicts that emerge for men during career transitions. Much of a man's perception of his masculine identity is governed by the development of his career. For counselors to understand men's gender role conflict, it is necessary to recognize the values of the "masculine mystique" that men internalize during career socialization. From this knowledge, the gender role themes can be identified and used with men experiencing career and gender role changes.

MEN'S GENDER ROLE SOCIALIZATION: THE MASCULINE MYSTIQUE AND FEARS OF FEMININITY

Masculine Mystique and Value System

Gender role socialization and notions of masculinity and femininity directly affect men's career and gender role transitions. A comprehensive analysis of how men are socialized and the effects of family, environment, and biology are beyond the scope of this chapter and are found elsewhere (Basow, 1980; Money, 1980; O'Neil, 1981a, 1982; Parsons, 1980; Schaffer, 1981; Tavris & Offir, 1977; Weitz, 1977). Of greatest importance is the notion that there are expected male norms and values that typify American manhood. We call the complex set of values and beliefs that define appropriate masculinity in our society the masculine mystique and value system. These values are based on rigid stereotypes and beliefs about men, masculinity, and femininity. A complete delineation of these values and assumptions has been published elsewhere (Farrell, 1974; O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982).

Overall, the masculine mystique and value system implies that: (a) men are superior to women and masculinity is superior to femininity; (b) power, control, and dominance are essential to prove one's masculinity; (c) emotions, feelings, vulnerability, and intimacy are to be avoided because they are feminine; (d) career and economic successes are measures of one's masculinity. These masculine values are part of men's socialization and have negative consequences for men, women, and children. These values violate women because they devalue women's feminine attitudes, values, and behaviors. They violate children because they create rigid expectations that can limit the free expression of a child's personality and potential. They violate men by denying them the opportunity to express their feminine aspects, therefore restricting their range of emotional and behavioral expression. Failure to accept these values or live them out can produce self-devaluation or punishment from others. Mayer (1978) suggested that these values may contribute to men's self-destruction at midlife. In varying degrees, the masculine mystique and value system devalues femininity, overvalues masculinity (acts of hypermasculinity), and produces fears about a man's femininity.

Fears of Femininity

One unifying theme that results from the masculine mystique and value system is the fear of femininity (Farrell, 1974; O'Neil, 1981b, 1982; O'Neil, David, & Wrightsman, 1985; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, in press). The fear of femininity is defined as a strong negative emotion associated with feminine values, attitudes, and behaviors. These emotional reactions are learned primarily in early childhood when gender identity is being formed by parents, peers, and societal values. Men's fears of their feminine aspects and of women have been noted in the theoretical literature for many years (Hays, 1964; Horney, 1967; Jung, 1953, 1954; Lederer, 1968; Menninger, 1970). Most of these analyses rely upon a psychodynamic foundation. Jung's archetype in men, the anima, is a well-known concept that is relevant to men's difficulty in integrating their feminine aspects. More recently, Levinson et al. (1978), in their case study of 40 men, found that these men not only neglected or repressed their feminine aspects of self, but also regarded their feminine aspects as dangerous.

When a man fears his feminine aspects, he really fears that others will see him as stereotypically and negatively feminine (weak, dependent, submissive) rather than positively masculine. Being considered "a wimp" by others is the worst fear possible. This is not an unreasonable fear because femininity is subordinated, depreciated, and maligned in our hypermasculine society. Men who express their feminine aspects fear they will be restricted, devalued, and violated by others. The cost of showing stereotypic feminine qualities can be disrespect, failure, and emasculation. These are high costs for a man who wants to fulfill the masculine mystique over the life cycle.

MEN'S CAREER AND GENDER ROLE SOCIALIZATION

Hansen (1984) provided the most cogent analysis of how gender and career interact. Her analysis indicates that gender continuously affects men and women over the life span. She indicates that "at the heart of issues of gender and career is the sex-role system, which is the network of attitudes, feelings, and behaviors that result from the pervasiveness of sex-role stereotyping in the culture." (p. 218). The masculine mystique and value system and fear of femininity described earlier are central to the sex-role system that Hansen describes. For the most part, specific information on the male sex-role system has not been specified in career psychology but has emanated from the men's literature. A more focused analysis of the masculine career and gender role socialization has been identified elsewhere (O'Neil, 1981a, 1982; O'Neil & Fishman, 1985a). Below is a summary of assumptions made about men's gender-career socialization synthesized from the men's literature. These assumptions are not absolute truths or ways to categorize all men. Clearly, there are individual, class, race, ethnic, and socioeconomic differences affecting the validity of these assumptions for each man.

Men are socialized to work by families, peers, and schools (Bucher, 1976; Fasteau, 1974; Goldberg, 1977; Olson, 1978) to be competitive,

achievement-oriented, and competent (Bucher, Crites & Fitzgerald, 1978; Olson, 1978). Due to gender role stereotypes, many men incorrectly interpret male and female sex differences as dictating different career options for each sex. Men also learn that measures of their masculinity are calculated by success, achievement, and ascendancy up the career ladder (Bucher; David & Brannon, 1976; Nichols, 1975; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974). In other words, men learn that manhood and masculinity are contingent on becoming a career success (Fasteau; Goldberg; Tolson, 1977). Many men look to work as the primary way to define personal and self worth (Bucher; Morgan et al., 1970; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; Skovholt, 1978). Furthermore, men learn that being masculine and achieving career success involves becoming competitive, powerful, and in control of self and the environment (Nichols). Men are concerned that others will critically evaluate their masculinity based on their career success, achievement, power, and control (David & Brannon). When some men marry they may expect exclusive rights to the breadwinner or career role unless it is economically necessary for their wives to work (Goldberg). Many men are socialized to believe that they will earn security and happiness by hard work, success, and achievement (David & Brannon; Nichols). Sometimes they seek personal rewards and goals that cannot be met in their work (Mayer, 1978). Many times when these rewards do not emerge, men work harder, believing that this will yield the desired outcomes of status, security, and success. Faced with stiff competition, unmet goals, and uncooperative work situations, men may experience fear of failure, low self-esteem, and emotional crises. Unresolved career issues related to achievement, power, success, and competition may be part of unresolved masculinity issues or vice versa. Fearing emasculation, some men work so hard to demonstrate success that they neglect important relationships with spouses, friends, and children (Goldberg). All of these stresses can culminate in overwork, fatigue, and marital discord, posing serious threats to the man's physical and psychological health (Goldberg; Mayer; O'Neil, 1981b).

GENDER AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT: AN INTERACTIVE AND DEFINITIONAL PROCESS

The above analysis of men's career and gender socialization highlights a central reality: Men's career and gender role development is rarely smooth, is often quite demanding, and ultimately can produce stress and strain. Moreover, gender role development and career development run parallel courses over the life cycle. The development of a career and gender identity is a process of negotiation and renegotiation within self and with others. A man's perception of his gender identity and his career identity is difficult to separate. Both identities operate simultaneously and determine choices, changes, and transitions. Additionally, career and gender role changes have interactive qualities. Changes in a person's view of their gender roles affect their view of their career possibilities and vice versa. Each man develops adaptive or nonadaptive coping mechanisms to respond to the changes over the life cycle.

For most men, career and gender role values change with age and experience. In other words, men experience their career and gender role

change as a definitional process. For some men, as the limitations of the masculine mystique become apparent, masculinity and femininity become redefined. For other men, the limitations of the masculine mystique are not readily apparent, and they struggle with unidentified feelings of discontent as years progress. When masculinity does not become redefined, men may cling to traditional male values. Gender role and career change may be precipitated by new adult roles including those of husband, parent, or mentor. Redefinition may also occur during personal crises, losses, or prolonged illnesses. Those men who are not flexible in their gender role behaviors may fail to cope effectively with changing life events.

May times the redefinition process is experienced on a vague, existential level before there is any attitudinal or behavioral change. Gender role redefinition is not readily discernible to most clients or counselors. When the artificiality of masculine stereotypes can be recognized, the limitations of sex-typed behavior can be explored. For many men, there is a yearning for more in-depth meaning that the narrow masculine world can provide. Usually, there is a need to redefine one's masculinity at home and at work.

This redefinition process is done with varying degrees of success, stress, and strain. Men who alter their masculine views of self and their worlds confront established values that have stablized their lives for years. It is difficult to change values that have guided one's existence, even when the values no longer provide a sense of meaning or vitality. Additionally, gender role and career reevaluations are undertaken in a capitalist world that continues to employ stereotypes of masculinity to reward men and keep the system operating. The external career world persists in rewarding men for being masculine. Yet, internal processes within the man may provoke serious reevaluation of gender role themes and life options.

GENDER ROLE TRANSITIONS AND THEMES

Gender role transitions are events or nonevents in a person's gender role development process stimulating changes in gender values and self-assumptions. These transitions occur when there are demonstrations, reevaluations, and integrations of masculinity and femininity over the life span. The *demonstration* of masculinity is central to the formation of a functional gender identity. For men, demonstrating one's masculinity is accomplished by striving for power, control, achievement, and success. Later in adulthood, *reevaluation* of masculine and feminine values may occur. This reevaluation may inspire questions about the limit of one's masculinity, and feminine values may seem more acceptable. The reevaluation of gender role values includes an assessment and redefinition of the man's feelings, thoughts, and behaviors about masculinity and femininity. *Integration* of both masculine and feminine values can occur if the man is able to reconcile previous socialization with new definitions of gender. These integrations may be in conjunction with developmental growth and the acceptance of new roles and responsibilities. The demonstration, reevaluation, and integration of masculine and feminine val-

ues may occur during crises, critical points, or during the normal maturation process. Role transitions may produce confusion, anxiety, and despair. Yet, these transitions can also open up internal aspects of the man, expanding his self-definition and promoting personal exploration and growth.

Personal changes and modifications in gender role values are not completed in a vacuum. They are experienced in the context of certain gender role transition themes. A gender role transition theme is defined as a developmental and human issue involving the demonstration, reevaluation, or integration of masculinity or femininity. What are the themes that men struggle with during career and gender role transitions? What themes need to be demonstrated, reevaluated, and finally integrated? What themes produce gender role conflict and strain?

Table 2 lists and defines 15 gender role transition themes that relate to men's career transitions. Each of these themes can involve the demonstration of the values of the masculine mystique or the reevaluation-integration of masculinity and femininity. Any of the gender role transition themes can affect the 21 career transitions found in Table 1. Consequently, the gender role themes have the potential to alter a man's view of himself, his career, and his world.

Several of the gender role transition themes from Table 2 may be reevaluated. Themes 1–3 (success, achievement, and competence) may be redefined as men enter the career maintenance stage. The limits of gender role themes 4–7 (control, power, competition, and strength) may become more apparent as men struggle to validate their masculine values from the limited domain of economic and career success. Changes in work situations whereby men feel restricted or constrained can affect a man's sense of personal worth (theme 8) and produce worries about his capacity to fulfill the provider role (theme 9). Themes 10 and 11 (personal communication and women's work role) may become problematic if the man is unable to recognize the artificiality of rigid masculine norms and values. Changes in roles such as themes 12 and 13 (fatherhood or mentoring) may demand new skills and greater interpersonal sensitivity. Finally, changes in body functions and aging (theme 14) may mean less energy and stamina, and health care issues (theme 15) may become dominant during the later years as retirement approaches.

Each man will struggle with different themes depending on his situation, coping styles, and gender role values. Most men will modify to some degree their self-concepts and work values. Changes in meaning are rarely sudden and usually emerge slowly over the years. Many times the redefinition of these themes and the integration of new notions of masculinity-femininity occur through the internal questions men struggle to answer. Some examples of the personal inquiries and themes men examine are:

1. What is success and is it worth all the strain?
2. Is power and control really that important to me?
3. If I redefine power, control, and competition, will I be able to be an effective man?

Table 2

Gender Role Transition Themes Affecting Men's Career Development

Gender Role Transition Themes	*Definitions*
1. Success	1. Attaining wealth, favor, or eminence
2. Achievement	2. Successful completion and accomplishment brought about by resolve, persistence, or endeavor
3. Competence	3. Having adequate ability, qualities, and capacity to function in a particular way
4. Control	4. Regulating, restraining, and having people or situations under one's command
5. Power	5. Obtaining authority, influence, or ascendancy over others and one's environment
6. Competition	6. Striving against others to gain something and establishing one's superiority or skill
7. Strength	7. Having capacity for endurance physically, emotionally, intellectually, and spiritually
8. Personal Worth	8. Being valued by others and valuing self
9. Provider Role	9. Assuming economic responsibility for family
10. Personal Communication	10. Verbal and nonverbal ways of interpersonal exchange
11. Women's and Men's Work Roles	11. Perceptions of appropriate work roles for each sex
12. Fatherhood	12. Parental role with sons and daughters
13. Mentor Role	13. Resource, sponsor, and transitional figure for another person
14. Aging	14. Showing the effects or characteristics of getting older
15. Health Care	15. Recognition of factors that maintain a healthy life

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4. If I change, will I be able to deal with the masculine system that uses power, control, and competition in sometimes oppresive ways?

5. If I give up my preoccupation with work and career success, will there be other ways for me to validate myself and my human worth? Will I respect myself and will others respect me as I broaden my human interests outside of work? Will I find these new human interests as satisfying as work?

6. If I express more of my emotional self, how will I be viewed by others? Will there be positive or negative consequences? Exactly what is my emotional self and how can I use it effectively in my career and life?

7. Overall, if I change, how will I handle the devaluations that I will experience from others?

8. How can I handle working with women as equals when I do not really understand them and their perspectives? How do you treat women as equals? What does it mean to cooperate and compete with women?

9. How can I better coexist with all parts of myself: masculine-feminine; strength-vulnerability; thought-emotion?

10. If I change my masculine values, does that mean that I am feminine, less of a man, homosexual, or weak?

These questions and others may be important issues to explore in counseling and psychotherapy. Gender role change is often associated with career transitions, although it may not be apparent to many men. The gender role transition themes defined in Table 2 may be a vehicle for exploring other emotional experiences of men related to gender and adult change.

EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES OF GENDER ROLE CONFLICT DURING GENDER AND CAREER TRANSITIONS

One of the central points of this chapter has been to investigate the interrelation between gender role transitions and career transitions. It was proposed that gender role conflict can have negative psychological consequences during career transitions. Additionally, gender role conflict was described as occurring when rigid, sexist, or restrictive gender roles learned during socialization result in personal restriction, devaluation, or violation of self or others.

What has not been described are the personal experiences of gender role conflict. What happens to men as they experience the career transitions in Table 1 or redefine the gender role transition themes in Table 2? What are the personal and private experiences of transitional change and what emotions surface for men as they negotiate life cycle events?

The personal experience of gender role conflict that emerges during career and gender role transitions can be conceptualized in four cate-

gories: (1) discrepancy and incongruity, (2) devaluation, (3) restriction, and (4) violation. These categories provide a common vocabulary for clients and counselors to discuss gender role conflicts that emanate from the transitional process. These categories help clarify men's private pain as they demonstrate, redefine, and integrate notions of masculinity and femininity over the life span. Each are defined and briefly discussed below.

Discrepancy and Incongruity

This category of gender role conflict is experienced when men recognize a difference between their real and ideal self-concept based on the stereotypic values of the masculine mystique (Garnets & Pleck, 1979). When men do not live up to the masculine expectancies of society, they will feel discrepant and incongruent with their masculine ideals. The internal experience of these incongruencies is manifest in feelings of inadequacy, depression, anger, and sometimes self-hatred. Many men feel that their personal success and achievement are on public display. When they are unable to demonstrate their masculine values, they become defensive and overcompensate to hide the discrepancies.

Devaluation

Men feel devaluated when they negatively criticize themselves for not meeting their masculine norms, goals, and expectations. Gender role devaluation produces a lessening of personal status, stature, and self-esteem. Men blame themselves for being inadequate and not being able to effectively integrate failures or losses. Many times fear and anger are turned inward, resulting in self-criticism, loss of self-confidence, and depression. Devaluation can also come from others including spouses, family members, and competitors.

Restriction

Gender role restrictions occur when masculine norms limit flexibility in work and family roles. The man with gender role restrictions has limited options and may not be able to respond to the wide variety of demands of adult life both at work and at home. As men confine themselves to certain roles, they may demand that women restrict themselves to traditionally feminine roles. This kind of restriction can mean the violation of personal freedom and human rights. Rigid masculine norms may be so enforced at home that emotional expression and close relationships are precluded. Men may be so driven by their work that they restrict themselves from family roles and responsibilities. The gender restricted man is inflexible and not able to unleash his capacity for growth. This usually results in anger, stress, and interpersonal conflict.

Gender Role Violation

Men feel violated when they experience harm demonstrating and redefining gender role themes of masculinity. To be violated is to be abused

and victimized in one's career and gender role. Violations occur when rights are taken away or freedom of experience is denied. Men feel particularly violated when they are demeaned for deviating from the values of the masculine mystique. When men do not conform to the masculine standards of success, achievement, competition, and power, they can be punished and may become alienated. Men can be violated by employers, fellow workers, or by the rigid masculine norms of the organizational system. Additionally, men can feel violated by family members and in interpersonal relationships where rigid adherence to the male role is demanded.

MR. THROCK MORTON: CASE STUDY OF CAREER AND GENDER ROLE TRANSITIONS

This case study is an illustration of how the career transitions and gender role themes can "come to life" for one man. The previous concepts are now integrated in a case study format of a man named Throck Morton. This case highlights the interactive qualities of career and gender role socialization and how family dynamics can affect one man's transitional processes. Using recognized career stages (Super & Hall, 1978; Campbell & Heffernan, 1983), four vignettes are used to describe Throck Morton's transitions in the preparation, establishment, maintenance, and retirement stages. The career transitions and gender role themes (see Table 1 and 2) will be identified and summarized in Table 3 for each of Throck Morton's stages of career development.

Background and Family History

Throck Morton was born in 1948 and was socialized in the 1950s and 60s, a product of the post-World War II baby boom. He was the second oldest of four children in a close, Irish-Catholic family living in a suburban town outside of Albany, New York. The Mortons enjoyed an upper middle class status. They were able to afford college for the children, summer vacations, two cars, and a comfortable home in a respectable neighborhood. In fact, the Mortons lived in three progressively larger homes during Throck's adolescence, reflecting his father's ambition to be upwardly mobile.

The Morton's family dynamics would be categorized as traditional, meaning that mother and father had distinct and separate roles. Throck's father worked as a real estate broker while his mother had responsibility for homemaking. Throck's father was a hard worker and traveled widely to meet high expectations for sales quotas. He was usually tired, under stress, and as Throck remembers, "His weary face was usually glued to the TV." Throck's father found some emotional release and escape by taking minor acting roles in local theatrical productions.

After the youngest child entered school, Mrs. Morton obtained employment as a bank teller, and after 3 years she became administrative assistant to the bank president. Although this raised her self-esteem, she felt guilty about neglecting household duties. Mr. Morton refused to help with domestic tasks and fulfill parental responsibilities. There were

continual tensions between Throck's parents regarding work, family, and leisure pursuits.

Throck's father experienced a career transition (crisis) when he was forced to retire early to make way for a younger and more energetic man. This event brought a tailspin of self-destructive behavior, apathy, and depression. Throck's mother mobilized the family's resourcefulness and convinced Throck's father to start a small consulting business, thus keeping him occupied and feeling useful.

Young Throck was socialized according to the values of the masculine mystique and traditional norms of American manhood. He learned from his father that manly worth was obtained through success, achievement, power, and competence at work. The more wealth and power one obtained, the more masculine one would be perceived. In the community, Throck's father was a respected man because of his success. Throck desperately wanted to imitate his father's qualities.

Throck learned from his father and mother that emotionality and vulnerability were inappropriate for men. He also recognized his father's drinking problem as a symptom of career stress and pressure. Concurrently, he observed his father's retreat to television and interest in the theater as outlets for his unexpressed emotions. The theater provided Throck's father with outlets for expressive, artistic, and emotional release without making him seem feminine. On the other hand, he perceived his father as being powerful, strong, successful, and competent when it came to business matters. In many ways, Throck was confused by his father's strivings for masculinity and his "closet" feminine interests in acting. Overall, Throck received strong messages from his parents: "Work hard, succeed, forget your emotions, be a man in the world." Unable to reconcile all of these messages, Throck began his own career exploration.

Career Preparation Stage

Throck's interest in business occupations was shaped by his family, school experience, and his parents' career success. These factors formed a primary value: "Hard work, perseverance, and drive pay off." In high school he enrolled in college preparatory courses and played varsity sports. He secretly wished to enter law school and enjoyed political science, journalism, and English. He rarely dated, considered himself a late bloomer in relationships, and "hung out" with the boys playing sports, driving cars, and drinking beer.

During college, he coasted through coursework, delayed thinking about careers, and panicked in his senior year about what to do with his life. He was afraid to commit himself to a career, job, or professional training. He lacked self-awareness, was naive about the world of work, and indecisive about law school, missing the application deadline. He had not achieved good grades in college (GPA = 2.2) and feared rejection from law schools. Additionally, questions about his competency and self-worth produced a vacuum of inertia and inaction.

Following college graduation, pressure came from his parents, who disapproved of his lack of academic achievement and delayed decision making. His father called him lazy, which was unfair and inaccurate. Throck felt devalued by his father, feared failure, and felt he was dis-

appointing his parents. Avoiding all of this, he opted for a year off on the West Coast to "get his head together." He wanted to do some self-reflection and career exploration. Instead, he was plagued by greater self-doubts about success and concerned about parental approval. Throck's father added "insult to injury" by describing Throck's year off as "cowardly escape to the West Coast." The message was: The sooner he started making money, the sooner he could be somebody. "Somebody" meant a man who succeeds and gets things done. Throck felt further devaluation and worried about his inadequacy as a man. Furthermore, he felt restricted by his own limited self-knowledge and indecisiveness.

Career Establishment Stage

Returning from the West Coast, throck had a series of sales related jobs. To his surprise, he did quite well and moved from selling vacuum cleaners, sports equipment, and computer software to selling business machines. After a few years with each company, he became restless, yearning for more challenges. Financially, he could afford a new car and a down payment on a small starter home. He dated casually and at age 28 met an attractive business colleague. They married 2 years later and had their first child, a son, the following year.

Throck continued his sales job, worked long hours, and traveled extensively. He felt much pressure to be the family protector and to fulfill the provider role through large salary increases. He felt pulled between his professional and familial priorities, and his excessive drinking became more problematic. Throck became increasingly dissatisfied with his job. He began to feel apathetic about going to work in the morning because he derived little pleasure from selling. His wife sensed that a sales career was a real compromise to Throck's career dream of being a trial lawyer. She urged him to begin career counseling. Throck resisted, wanting to avoid fears of incompetence and retreated into alcohol. He had felt out of control since high school and his relationship with his parents had continued to be distant and strained. His sales career did not make him feel like a successful man and the work had no inherent meaning. His sales quotas dropped drastically, as did his income. He was reprimanded by his district manager for failing to meet 6 consecutive months of sales quotas.

The lowest point Throck can remember was on his 35th birthday when he was fired from the company. To Throck, being fired and unemployed was the worst kind of failure, personal embarrassment, and loss of control. Hitting the bottom in an ironic way left him debilitated on one hand, and desperate to prove himself as a persevering man on the other. There was a sense of relief, freedom to start over, and a possibility for a career change. During this crisis, he began career counseling and decided to enter law school. Even though this meant severe income loss for 3 years, his wife was supportive. He was the oldest student in his law classes, but he felt a renewed sense of commitment and achievement. He began to feel like an effective man, the one his parents wanted him to become. Throck had established himself as an effective trial lawyer by age 43. His success was rapid. He was recognized as someone who had achieved legal competence and he gained power quickly. The courtroom was a dramatic

environment for displaying his showmanship and flair for public speaking. With this secure career, he hoped to settle down and enjoy life. He hoped the career change would bring status, success, and worth as well as acceptance from his parents.

Career Maintenance Stage

During this stage Throck could not relax and enjoy life, but rather was preoccupied about maintaining his success. He had lost status and position before as a salesman and it could happen again. Throck's rapid success and courtroom style were admired by many younger attorneys. Two female attorneys sought Throck as their mentor, which added to his feelings of worth and credibility. Mentoring women was a new experience for Throck, and he was unaccustomed to their assertiveness. After closer inspection of Throck's personality, the female attorneys viewed Throck as paternalistic, sexist, and controlling. At issue for Throck was how to effectively guide the women's careers without losing his own power, control, and masculine status. The women were offended by Throcks' condescension and subtle sexism. The mentoring relationships did not last and the women sought more secure and nonsexists mentors.

Throck's stereotypic view of women continued to cause conflict at work. One incident turned into an embarrassing public situation when he was accussed of sexual harassment as a result of some crude jokes he had told at a conference meeting. He was surprised to find out that his "good old boy network" did not support his sexist and distasteful remarks. Nonetheless, he was not about to take abuse from a woman and decided to confront the situation directly. He wasn't sure how to deal with the accusation or with the woman, but he sheepishly apologized for the sexist jokes. He was ridiculed by other colleagues for apologizing to a woman. The whole ordeal lowered his masculine image. He restored his relationship with the female colleague, but he had been emasculated and embarrassed. Throck was able to maintain his status as a lawyer but he was passed over when judges were appointed. In Throck's early 50s, he realized that his career was leveling off. He had reached the last rung on his career ladder, and it was sooner and lower than he had wished.

Retirement Stage

At 60, Throck considered early retirement to ease out of the work force gracefully. He had observed his father's abrupt retirement and the pain associated with disengaging from the work force. Moreover, he was physically and mentally exhausted when cases went to court. He got more enjoyment out of quiet afternoons doing legal paperwork. The pace of his career made retirement a welcomed event.

In the last 10 years of his career, he had reached his peak. Promotions, visibility, and responsibilities had leveled off. He was never appointed a judge, which left one dream unmet. He rationalized his disappointment about not becoming a judge by recognizing that it might have been too much stress and pressure. In his 60s he realized he could no longer handle the increasing competition from younger attorneys in the courtroom setting. His wife labeled him burned out when he really needed to

retire early. He feared that early retirement would be seen as a weakness. Many men work well past 65, yet he just didn't have the stamina anymore.

After retirement, Throck became a recluse at home and severed most social relationships with colleagues. As his career faded, Throck felt his masculinity had also been diminished. Fearing his retirement would be perceived as a lack of strength, he confined himself to his home. Throck acknowledged that he was not the venerable wise man he had hoped to be in old age. He searched for ways to occupy his time including daily exercise, reading, and church functions. With his wife and son preoccupied, Throck felt lonely. He spoke with his parish priest about not wanting to die without feeling at peace with himself. He couldn't understand his discontentment because his professional career entitled him to be labeled a successful man. There was still something missing at age 70. At age 72, while tending his garden, Throck Morton died of a massive heart attack.

ANALYSES OF THROCK MORTON'S CAREER TRANSITIONS AND GENDER ROLE THEMES

Table 3 shows a summary of Throck Morton's career and gender role themes according to specified career stages (Campbell & Heffernan, 1983; Super & Hall, 1978). Each of these stages will be summarized below.

Preparation Stage

Throck avoided serious career planning in college and failed to apply his academic skills toward possible careers or advanced training. These factors as well as parental pressure made Throck confused about an initial career. His father's pressure to succeed was immobilizing and caused Throck's indecisiveness. In Throck's private moments, he questioned his personal worth, competence, and potential for success. Throck's father questioned his manhood because he was hesitant about making a career commitment and lazy about pursuing economic achievement. Taking a year off was the ultimate "cop-out" according to Throck's father. Throck's gender role conflict was focused on identifying what career would allow him to be a successful man like his father. Instead of facing the competition issues with his father, he opted for no career choice, advanced training, or first job. Not meeting his father's masculine ideals represented to Throck a discrepancy-incongruence that created career inertia. Throck's father devalued his son for not pursuing a financially lucrative career or applying to law school. The outcome was that Throck devalued himself and experienced gender role conflict.

Establishment Stage

During this stage, Throck's life changed dramatically. He experienced eight career transitions: first job, loss of meaning in career, rapid failure, unemployment, advanced training, rapid income loss, career change, and rapid success. Many career conflict issues emerged during these career transitions. There were worries about success, failure, role adoption, role conflict, and loss. These conflicts and transitions substantially altered

Table 3

Summary of Throck Morton's Career Transitions and Gender Role Transition Themes

Stage	*Career Transitions*	*Gender Role Transition Themes*
Preparation	Initial career choice	Personal worth
	Obtaining skill development/training	Success
	First job	Achievement
		Competence
		Competition
Establishment	First job	Success
	Loss of interest and meaning in career	Provider role
	Rapid failure	Fatherhood
	Being fired—unemployment	Personal worth
	Obtaining training	competence
	Rapid income loss	Control
	Career change	Achievement
	Rapid success	Power

Maintenance	Becoming a mentor	Achievement
	Working with women	Success
	Serious problem with colleague	Competence
	Leveling off—Job peaking	Personal worth
		Control
		Power
		Women's and men's work roles
		Mentor role
		Personal communication
		Fatherhood
Retirement	Aging	Success
	Preretirement	Achievement
	Retirement	Personal worth
	Loss of stamina and endurance	Strength
	Lost career dream or goal	Aging
	Burnout	Competition
		Health care

Throck's perception of himself and his world view. Concurrently, many gender role transition themes were reevaluated. The responsibility of a family forced him to reexamine his role as provider. He worried about integrating the new family roles with a demanding sales job. An unpredictable income created continual worries about money and personal worth. Questions about competence and ability to compete with other men were prominent. When his career was in flux, so too was his identity as a man. He questioned his masculinity when he was unemployed, yet this process allowed him to make a career change that would augment his status and personal worth. Emotionally, Throck still feel incongruent with the masculine norms that he had learned from his parents. He had also been devalued by his coworkers for losing control of his career and being fired from his job. These gender-career stressors were painful, but Throck forged ahead with a new career in law. Law school training forced Throck back into the preparation stage of career development where he was able to find a match between his interests and abilities. He was able to demonstrate competence, achievement, and power rapidly and was recognized as a successful lawyer in his early 40s.

Maintenance Stage

This stage included four career transitions: becoming a mentor, working with women, serious conflict with a colleague, leveling off and job peaking. All of these transitions affected gender role themes and created gender role conflict. Throck's rapid career advancement as a lawyer was not enough to fulfill him. He thought career achievement would bring wealth, satisfaction, security, eminence, and manhood. This was not the case, and there was an uneasy emptiness about the success and competence. He continually worried about losing his status and position to younger and more aggressive trial lawyers. Many aspects of Throck's role as a trial lawyer restricted his personality. He had to be tough, combative, and unrelenting in the courtroom. Masculine values and power were essential during trials. He was unable to provide effective mentoring for women because of stereotypic views of gender roles. He also acted in a sexist manner toward women and his harassment charge became a long-standing joke in legal circles. Often he could not make the transition from work to home, and his wife complained of his bossiness, moodiness, and alcohol abuse. He felt guilty and unsupported at work and misunderstood at home. He found himself particularly critical of his son, when he so wanted to be tender and nurturing. Socialized by the values of the masculine mystique and fearing femininity, he felt more comfortable demonstrating power, control, and strength over tenderness, self-expression, and vulnerability. His manliness was questioned when he was unable to resolve a conflict with a female colleague, thereby losing respect. He struggled with the demands of work and family commitments, and felt inadequate as father. He was finally successful in the provider role, but the stresses and strains made it difficult to be a loving husband and father.

Throck's career transitions stimulated redefinition of certain gender transition themes. He was worried about proving his worth as a man and maintaining his career success. The customary use of power and

competition seemed ineffective and inappropriate when working with women. He was unprepared to manage conflict with women and communicated ineffectively with them. At the same time he lost status in the "old boy network." In his mentoring attempts, he was unable to alter his competitiveness without feeling a loss of control. He lacked flexibility in maintaining mentoring relationships. He was so concerned about maintaining his power and image that he was unable to empower others. He really did not enjoy his work. Preserving his achievements and successes seemed more taxing than earning them.

The personal experience of these gender-career transitions left Throck feeling violated and restricted by his career. The ideals of success and achievement did not yield the happiness he had expected. The demands of his career were so great that he felt restricted from developing leisure interests. He was, much to his dismay, a marginal spouse and father, just like his own father.

Retirement Stage

The career transitions Throck experienced in this stage included: preretirement; aging; loss of stamina and endurance; retirement issues; loss of career dream; and burnout. Preretirement consisted of reviewing his career and assessing his achievements, successes, and failures. He had now decreased his work output because of limited energy and stamina. Now in his early 60s, he was concerned about whether he was a real man. He mourned the loss of his lifelong dream of becoming a judge. The competition was keen and the younger attorneys appeared to be more competent for these demanding judicial positions. The transition from work to retirement did not provide the closure Throck desired. There was no gold watch or retirement party. It was a challenge to find leisure activities that made Throck feel useful. As age advanced, minor health problems summoned questions on death and dying. Throck spent much of these later years thinking about his career and personal accomplishments. Gender role transition themes emerged as he philosophized about his life. Had he proven his competence, success, personal worth, and strength to his family, friends, colleagues? Were his efforts appreciated? Had he made a significant contribution? Was he a valued man and person? The personal experience of the retirement stage left Throck with many unresolved discrepancies-incongruencies. Had he succeeded at the career-family game? Had he achieved what was expected of him? He wished there were a finite answer.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTITIONERS

The case study analysis illustrates how career transitions and gender role themes can be applied to one man's life. The adult career and gender role concepts enumerated in this chapter provide practitioners with new vocabulary to assess men's transitions. These concepts have implications for women and their needs to be described in future analyses and case studies. For now, the definitions of career transitions and gender role themes in Tables 1 and 2 provide practitioners with an initial diagnostic classification of transition issues to be assessed in career counseling.

The question remains how to help men in career transitions as they demonstrate, redefine, and integrate gender role themes. It is probably premature to suggest specific counseling approaches for men experiencing career transitions or gender role conflict. The present analysis has deliberately avoided suggesting treatment modes for men based on specific age, stage, transition, symptom, or crisis. Overall, men's career transitions are best explored by helping men understand their own gender role socialization. Men can learn much about themselves by examining their gender role and career socialization processes. Exploring the meaning of a career transition or gender role theme will require trust, support, and confrontation from counselors sensitive to gender roles. Men can learn by labeling how they have been hurt and helped by gender role dynamics in their lives. Cognitive constructs like incongruence, devaluation, restriction, and violation can be useful for men as they express emotional pain and conflict. Moreover, counselors can legitimize career and gender role change as part of the normal maturation process. As counselors advocate more effective career and gender role transitions, gender growth will be better accepted as part of the adult learning process.

Numerous publications provide background on approaches to counseling men (Collison, 1981; Dosser, 1982; Goldfried & Friedman, 1982; Kahn & Greenberg, 1980; O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982; Schet, 1979, 1981; Skovholt, Gormally, Schauble, & Davis, 1980; Solomon & Levy, 1982; Stein, 1982). These sources are recommended reading for practitioners working with men. Most of these publications do not give prescriptions for counseling, but provide valuable ideas and conceptual information for intervening with men's problems. In many ways, counselors working with men's career and gender role transitions are on their own. Until research documents specific treatment for specific gender role and career problems, our established approaches to counseling and psychotherapy provide the best foundation.

On a behavioral level, counselors can teach men problem-solving skills and help them develop emotional expressiveness and understanding. Goldfried and Friedman (1982) provide an excellent review of behavior therapy techniques to use with men. Dosser (1982) discusses training procedures to enhance male expressiveness. Kahn and Greenberg (1980) recommend expanding sex role definition through journal writing, focusing, imagery and fantasy, internal dialogue, and differentiated reconstruction. Collison (1981) has specified a 5-step process for counseling men including: (1) identifying gender-role issues; (2) determining consequences of gender-role issues; (3) examining probabilities and consequences of alternatives; (4) deciding on alternatives and identifying resources needed to implement decisions; and (5) planning for evaluation and review.

On a more emotional and psychodynamic level, men will need to learn to express painful emotions that may touch early childhood learning as well as present conflicts. Many norms of appropriate masculine behavior are established in primary families and remain unchallenged through adulthood. Men able to reexperience repressed emotions of early adolescence can gain understanding of their current pain and conflicts. For example, the internalization of parental attitudes and gender related con-

flicts about success, failure, and achievement can plague a man throughout his life. Fathers and mothers who expressed pain and conflict about their own career transitions can communicate these to their sons. Many men experience their fathers as "wounded" (Pleck, 1984) and therefore carry these wounds into their own adulthood. Sometimes these wounds are reexperienced as conflicts in the son's life, representing intergenerational transmission of gender role conflict. Father-son relationships are fertile areas for counseling men with gender-career conflicts.

Furthermore, the conceptualizations in this manuscript and others (Levinson et al., 1978; Moreland, 1979, 1980; Pleck, 1981) need a greater empirical base. Case studies and empirical research on the dynamics of gender role conflict in career and gender role transitions are needed for both men and women. Earlier attempts to assess gender role conflict in college students (Komarovsky, 1976; O'Neil et al., in press) need extension to older adults across different socioeconomic, class, and race parameters. Additionally, the information in Tables 1, 2, and 3 needs to be extended to more comprehensive and focused analyses of women's career and gender role transitions. Likewise, the personal symptoms of gender conflict (incongruence-discrepancy, devaluation, restriction, violation) need both greater elaboration and empirical validation.

If anything, men need to recognize that their career transitions and gender role conflicts are not just personal failures but result from complex biological, societal, and socialization influences. Career and gender role transitions are inevitable across the life cycle, and men need continually to reassess how they define healthy masculinity and a healthy career life. Counselors can help men gain perspective on normal life cycle changes. Men who blame themselves for not living up to stereotypic masculine norms are candidates for self-devaluation, anger, depression, and alienation. These men need to be exposed to more flexible ways of solving the problems of everyday living.

Men can generate alternative ways to validate themselves than through economic success, achievement, and power. This can and has been done by men over the life cycle. Young boys and men need to recognize that masculinity can mean more than strength, career success, and economic status. They need to know that there are limits to this narrow conception of power and masculinity. Men need to develop other interpersonal or spiritual "power bases" to enrich their lives and negotiate changing life events. Counselors and psychologists can be advocates for socializing men to be effectively human as well as appropriately masculine. More functional criteria to validate humankind, that transcend sex and gender, are needed if the sexes are to survive and negotiate gender and career transitions effectively.

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CHAPTER 11

Career Development and the Ethnic Minority

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Career development theories attempt to explain how and why people choose careers (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1979; Griffith, 1980; Okun, 1984; Royce, Irving, & Darlington, 1983; Vace & Wittmer, 1980). On the whole, the major foci of most career development theories are: personality characteristics, work environment, career decision-making skills, and adult development and change processes. Seldom do career development theories strongly focus on culture, class, race, or ethnic origin. Yet these factors have continuous and pervasive effects upon minorities' identities, attitudes, and career choices.

Minority youth are influenced, as are nonminority youth, by their school, work, home, church, and neighborhood environments. For minorities, the church and neighborhood have a particularly strong impact—perhaps more so than for nonminorities. A variety of approaches to influencing positively the career development of minorities have been oriented around all of these settings. It is crucial that the design and delivery of career development programs for minority adults take into account these factors as well as the unique needs minorities have in relation to career development. This chapter examines these considerations, exploring minority issues in adult development as well as their role as barriers to minority career development.

Much of this chapter refers specifically to American blacks because there is more literature available on that group and because of the authors' personal knowledge of and work with American black populations. Yet the authors believe that the views herein have implications for other nonwhite racial/ethnic populations. Because the topic is adult career development, the focus will be on minorities from postadolescence to retirement.

ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES

The foundations of career choice and development are established in the early years, prior to and during adolescence. These foundations are often the major determinants of an adult's attitude toward work. The

environment in which a minority child matures is especially significant to future career choice and career development. Although the assumption can be made that the same shaping factors exist for nonminorities, the difference tends to be in the degree of influence that various environmental factors exert upon the groups.

School Environment

For many minorities the school environment from elementary through junior high school is particularly influential. According to Marland (1974), the school environment reshapes and refocuses career exploration and awareness from kindergarten to junior high. Teachers and counselors *play a critical role in shaping students' career choices*. It should be noted that some nonminorities are exposed to school environment influence as early as prekindergarten or kindergarten. Often minorities do not attend formal kindergarten, putting them behind their contemporaries in exposure to school influence.

During postadolescence many minorities who dropped out of school return again as a result of an initial work experience that may have required in-service programs, on-the-job training, or a return to formal education to complete general or trade requirements. During this period the influence of teachers can be significant. Quite often special thanks and praise will be attributed to a significant teacher who is credited with getting people on the "right track." This teacher is often one who spent time with the minority individual teaching decision-making skills and developing sound work values.

Of the earliest and perhaps most successful examples of the recognition of the school's influence on minority career development is the Developmental Career Guidance Project (Leonard, 1968) in Detroit. This school-based project focused on broadening career awareness for inner-city youths, most often minorities.

This project helped minorities gain a comprehensive awareness of career options that exceeded their immediate environmental perspectives. Self-concepts were developed that incorporated positive attitudes toward work. The values of initiative and resourcefulness were taught. Generally, the teachers served as positive role models to teach the realities and rewards of self-initiative. As teachers shared their life stories, relating how they had reaped rewards from their actions, minorities had the opportunity to discover relationships between education and work.

Although not all minorities in the project took advantage of the opportunities provided, those who did enjoyed some success. The effects were seen later as a positive influence on their adult career patterns. Failure of this school-based project for some individuals seemed to be related to attitudes. A negative view of self and of others of their own or other groups seems to have held them back from profiting from the project.

Some minority individuals identify with values of the dominant culture over those of their own group. This influences their selection of role models and mentors. For example, some minorities striving for identification with the dominant culture are hurt when an experience such as

a job interview leads them to feel part of a minority. These experiences can create confusion, conflict, and resentment that may result in reactionary behaviors wherein minority views are exclusively adopted and the dominant views abandoned. These behaviors can lead to limited career development and perhaps unemployment, because nonminority attitudes may prevail in the work setting.

For many adult minorities, after years of struggle in the work place, the school can become important once more. Many individuals return to school with a base of experience to add perspective to their skill and attitude development that may have gotten short circuited earlier in life. Minorities make up a large segment of the nontraditional adult student population in our country.

Work Environment

An example of a career development program for minorities in the work environment was developed by the National Institute of Education in 1974. It took an experiential career education approach. This program provided opportunities for individuals to explore occupational areas of choice through hands-on part-time work experience. This approach was successfully tested with minorities in Oakland, California, at the Far West School (Jenks, 1976). It provided a variety of career services for individuals aged 13 to 20 who had previously left school without obtaining proper skills and career development.

Minorities who participated in this program were exposed to a variety of jobs and experiences, yet they often viewed the jobs as menial service jobs. Additionally, because most of the jobs were part-time, they were not economically sufficient for the school dropout who quite often had acquired a family or head-of-household responsibility. This approach may have demonstrated more success with minorities if the proponents had grounded the program in a knowledge of minority life style and environmental experience. Understanding nonwork influences is crucial in understanding career behaviors of minorities.

Home Environment

Home-based models for promoting minorities career development are designed to bring educational delivery systems that provide career training for adults to the home and community. This approach has reached very few minorities. The communication modes are often telephone hotlines, library mobile vans, television, and video packages (Herr & Whitson, 1979). Home-based models, regardless of geographical and experiential bases, have failed to take into consideration the general life style of minorities and their practices of discovering careers. The life styles and practices of minorities lend themselves to learning about careers through receiving information by word-of-mouth and popular media recordings (i.e., situation comedies). Because home-based approaches did not employ the traditional communication modes relied upon by minorities, many minorities felt that the new communication modes could not be trusted.

Residential Environment

Minority and nonminority disadvantaged families or individuals, targeted by authors of residentially based programs (Axelrad, Korlhage, & Whitson, 1977), are relocated to a residential center and provided remedial education, counseling, health information and services, family skills training, community services, and placement information. Guaranteed employment is the incentive. This approach has been tested in rural America.

Relocation for minorities has many psychological and sociological implications, both positive and negative. If the residential program has a strong support system and the individual enters of his or her own free will, the chances for success are good. When it is a last resort procedure, the chances for success are not as good unless the individual is taught the necessary transitional skills during and after the residential period.

Church and Neighborhood Environments

Overlooked in the various theoretical approaches to career education have been two dominant, prevailing influences on minorities' career choice—the church and the neighborhood. For many years minorities have relied upon the church congregation as a source of positive career role models. Educators, financial consultants, lawyers, bank employees, doctors, and dentists who have taken prominent lay positions within minority churches have served as role models for career awareness and development.

Career development has also been aided by role models in minority neighborhoods. Successful neighborhood models draw attention by their financial success, social status, and material holdings within the community. Those neighborhood role models often represent viable career options for minorities.

When the church role models are compared with the neighborhood role models, the distinction becomes one of degree of interaction. In the church the individual generally does not interact with the role model on a one-to-one basis, but learns about the value of "being like that role model." In the neighborhood, the individual has an opportunity not only to observe, but also to interact with role models, thus experiencing vicariously the rewards of choosing various careers. These influences tend to be informal but influential.

MINORITY CAREER DEVELOPMENT NEEDS

Successful career programs are designed to meet the needs of specific populations. Minorities, as a special group, have unique needs that must be considered for effective career development counseling and assistance. Beane and Zachmanoglou (1979) developed five psychological components that are important for career education of the handicapped. Their ideas may apply to most minorities because very few minority groups would consider themselves nonhandicapped environmentally in terms of conditions, accessibility to career opportunities, and programs designed

specifically to accommodate their unique needs. According to Beane and Zachmanoglou, special groups benefit from career counseling by

- becoming aware of the relationship between their maturity and their evolving aspirations, values, and potential;
- developing a sense of worth, purpose, and direction in life;
- becoming a part of, rather than apart from, society;
- developing the security of legitimization in relation to the norms of achieving adults; and
- becoming fully capable to perform all of life's roles more effectively.

These components seem applicable to many racial-ethnic minorities. Yet one additional component may be needed—becoming aware of individuality apart from environmental challenges. Minority awareness of individuality is crucial if individuals are going to be aided in the discovery of their strengths. Specifically, minorities need to be taught and counseled that career and life skills can be learned by any individual regardless of race, sex, color, or environmental condition.

Additionally, in designing career development programs to meet the needs of minorities, it is important to remember that some minorities are historically, environmentally, and psychologically anticounselor (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1979). This suggests that practicing counselors need to establish an environment of culture-free trust for counseling to be effective.

Culture-free trust may be established by using an approach suggested by Crites (1960). Crites believes the following features are needed in order to establish credibility and rapport in any organization: appropriate leadership style, effective interpersonal relationships, knowledge of the intrinsic meaning of work in the specific environment, and characteristics of extrinsic rewards. These concepts may be used as guides for establishing culture-free trust in the counseling setting in the following ways: (a) The counselor must be grounded in a knowledge of minority environments. This will enable the counselor to exhibit understanding and acceptance of the clients' home situation; (b) the counselor must be aware of his or her own verbal and nonverbal behaviors that may exhibit culturally biased positions and stereotypes; (c) the counselor must be aware of the status and values implied and normalized in minority environments by career success; and (d) the counselor must be cognizant of many minorities' emphasis upon material rewards as signs of career success and upward mobility.

MINORITY ISSUES IN ADULT DEVELOPMENT

Minorities do not seem to be unique when progressing through the different stages of adulthood, but some developmental issues need to be noted. For example, leaving one's family and establishing a separate identity can be a particularly difficult transition for minorities. Many have strong family ties that are difficult to sever, even temporarily. Family dependency seems to be strong in some minority families. Historically, blacks feared involuntary family separations. Perhaps this has caused

cultural norms that have made it more difficult for some blacks to establish separate identities from their families. Family conformity seems to be a dominant value encouraged among some minorities.

For some minorities the first real separation or sense of separate identity from the family does not occur until the 30s. For many minorities, as for nonminorities, midlife is a period of major examination. Sometimes there is the realization that parental dependencies that have long existed will no longer be available. An evaluation of whether the long dependency period was beneficial is often part of that examination. Also, second jobs sometimes are assumed to support the additional responsibilities for elderly parents.

During older age, minorities and nonminorities seem to have similar experiences. How the individual views his or her aging determines career decisions during this period.

BARRIERS TO MINORITY CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Some of the reasons why minorities do not take full advantage of career development services have been mentioned throughout this chapter. This section will reiterate some of the more important issues in order to clarify what barriers exist. It is hoped that as career counselors design career development programs for minorities they will keep these issues in mind.

Adult minorities devote a limited amount of time to career decision making compared to time spent on other issues indirectly influencing career development (Ruberton, 1984). One such issue is being labeled a minority group member by society. The term "minority" is not negative; however, the term causes many minorities to wonder whether they are perceived as equals by nonminority individuals. This label represents a stigma to many minorities and may result in a negative self-concept. Labeling also causes distrust toward members of the nonminority group. Minorities can be so sensitive to the issue of labeling that it can interfere with good decision making regarding career choices and opportunities.

In many work environments, discrimination continues in spite of legislation and court decisions that have declared it illegal. In some areas racism may continue to prohibit equal access to career opportunities. Many minorities therefore lack confidence in themselves and their intelligence and potential, because of biased testing, counseling, and placement practices (Campbell, 1982).

Career role models are important for extending career awareness and eliminating sex role stereotyping and minority stereotyping. It seems that minority career role models continue to be underrepresented in many careers. Yet, it is evident that minorities are equally capable of being represented in all fields. As minorities begin to acquire career positions in all employment fields, they will serve as role models for those considering these fields of employment in the future.

Many minorities are not aware of career services. Furthermore, those minorities who do participate in career programs often report that these services are based upon the premise that minorities need "corrective" measures in order to be successful in nontraditional careers. Addition-

ally, these services can be ineffectual because of the professional's discomfort in approaching and counseling the minority client (Mullins, 1982).

Minorities also have a "language" and life style that reflect their culture. Counselors need to be sensitive to cultural meanings associated with minority language and life style. The professional must "walk in the other's shoes."

Finally, career saliency, or involvement with work (Zytowski, 1972) is an issue for minorities. The importance a person attaches to an occupation and how that occupation relates to overall life satisfaction may be different for minority individuals. Minorities view their job as a means to an end and concentrate more on family and avocational pursuits. Today, however, more minorities are beginning to view their career as a major source of life satisfaction.

CONCLUSION

Most career counselors, in order to provide effective career counseling assistance, strive to understand the impact of early life experiences and developmental stages on the career attitudes of adults. This chapter has suggested that minorities often present unique developmental issues that must be taken into account by career counselors. A challenge for career counselors working with minorities is the constant need to reexamine their assumptions and understanding of the people they seek to serve.

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CHAPTER 12

Conjoint Career Counseling: Counseling Dual-Career Couples

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Dual-career couples are a relatively recent phenomenon. This life style emerged primarily during the 1970s and is expected to be more prevalent in the future (Hall & Hall, 1979; Holmstrom, 1972; Hester & Dickerson, 1982). The rising aspirations of women coupled with greater educational and career opportunities and current economic conditions point to an ever-increasing number of dual-career couples.

For many years the "typical" American family was conceptualized to consist of a breadwinner father, a homemaker mother, and two school-aged children. By the 1980s only 7% of all married couples fit this description (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1981). Today, it is estimated that approximately 52% of all married women work, and they compose approximately 60% of the female work force. The majority of these women have dependent children. Dual-career couples with children have never been as well represented in the U.S. work force as they are currently. Many researchers (Berman, Sacks, & Lief, 1975; Gross, 1980; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971a) have indicated that this "new" type of marriage with its emphasis on career achievement will be tomorrow's customary marriage. It is also predicted that women will evidence higher levels of work attachment than ever before by working full-time and continuously (Masnick & Bane, 1980).

Increasingly career counselors are being sought by individuals whose concerns and career dilemmas must be addressed within the context of their families and their relationships with their spouses. Dual-career couples share more of their family's responsibilities, and as a result they

tend to be more interdependent than traditional couples. This interdependence dictates more role sharing and interchangeability in task distribution and task completion. Career concerns rarely exist independently of these variables. The career counselor and his or her client cannot hope to address these concerns in isolation. A systems approach that allows for the interaction between and among the various factors is needed. For many career concerns, both spouses must become involved in the career counseling process if the issues that face the particular dual-career couple are to be addressed and solutions found. These solutions involve a balancing of roles and demands, the juggling of responsibilities and tasks, and the careful planning of career transitions and changes.

There is a need for more effective alternative approaches to career counseling that take into account the recent changes in the American family. Hence, we have developed an interactive conjoint career counseling model that takes into account a given couple's family and individual career stages. This model provides a conceptual framework for career counselors who work with dual-career couples.

The lives of dual-career couples operate in a delicate interdependent balance. The systems that support this life style are intricately interwoven. An analogy could be made between the dual-career family and a hanging mobile. If one part of a mobile hanging in space is removed, the other parts become imbalanced and tangled. Removing or adjusting one piece of the mobile requires that every other piece be adjusted accordingly. Many options exist as to which particular piece is lengthened and how much, but the point is that adjustments are required. The same is true of the dual-career family. If a promotion requires a move, an option to upgrade one's formal education presents itself, or a new child is born, each system will have to be adjusted accordingly. When one is working with a dual-career couple, the heads of household must plan together the necessary adjustments and accommodations. The dual-career life style is a complex one that demands a more complex career counseling approach. Career counseling cannot go on in isolation, taking only the individual into account. Instead, the career counseling of dual-career couples is often best done conjointly, that is together, so that all systems can be taken into account. These systems and variables include each spouse's career values, aspirations, goals, and opportunities.

The dual-career life style has been identified as a stressful one. The evidence indicates higher divorce rates, conflicting demands, and time management concerns (Holmstrom, 1972; Weingarten, 1978). Career counselors can do much to help dual-career couples manage their careers and life styles more effectively. Thus, they maximize the possibility that these couples will experience more positive outcomes attributed to and associated with this life style. These positive benefits include higher general health (Feld, 1976; Burke & Weir, 1976), higher self-esteem (Feldman & Feldman, 1974), greater personal autonomy and power (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Blood, 1970), greater marital communication (Burke & Weir, 1976), and the opportunity to pursue self-actualization and happiness.

This chapter will describe a conjoint career counseling approach for dual-career couples. First the history of dual-career couples and the issues they face will be presented. This will be followed by a discussion of

family and career stages. Then these stages will be used as a context for a conjoint career counseling approach. Case studies will be used to demonstrate this approach.

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY AND STAGES

During the late 1960s and early 1970s the dual-career life style first emerged. Since then the concept has undergone a number of changes.

When the dual-career family first evolved there was continued debate for many years as to whether it was possible to adopt this life style without dire effects on the family. During this first stage it was assumed that if a woman had a career, she would sacrifice her career for her husband's as a matter of course. She was also expected to reduce her work hours or work-related activities if they inconvenienced her family. The wife was the one who accommodated her work schedule to the needs of the family. The working wife in this type of family also assumed the traditionally female tasks related to household and child care in addition to assuming a work-related role. This stage was characterized by less work attachment (career salience). Employers during this stage were reluctant to promote or to train a woman because she might quit when family responsibilities conflicted with work-related responsibilities.

The second stage could be called the "superwoman" stage. This stage was different from the previous one in that women's career salience (work attachment) increased. During this stage women became more committed to their careers while still assuming primary responsibility for their children and home. They tried to do it all to avoid criticism for giving less attention to their socialized roles. Few women aspire to the superwoman role today largely because it is untenable. The superwoman role leads to exhaustion, an unbalanced life style, and a possible retreat to the home front.

The third stage is exemplified by the egalitarian dual-career marriage. Although individual couples may choose to be more traditional, increasingly the egalitarian model is being adopted. It seems to be the model of the future. The egalitarian marriage may not be a reality for the majority at present, but it seems to be on the horizon. Social and structural changes have made this model possible. Affirmative action opportunities, increased professional education, more visible female role models, and increasing acceptance by both men and women of less restrictive sex-role behavior all encourage the dual-career life style. Increasingly, organizations are supporting the dual-career life style as evidenced by flex hours, part-time professional jobs, paternity leave, and the increased child care facilities.

In the egalitarian dual-career marriage there are two heads of household. Decisions are made in a democratic manner. The division of labor is based on interests, skills, and availability rather than on sex roles. There is more sharing of roles and tasks as needs demand. The household and child care tasks are shared. Career development is a mutual concern. There is little change in career involvement and salience following childbirth. Accommodations are made by both spouses on an egalitarian basis. Both husband and wife simultaneously take on the demands of an em-

ployer, a spouse, and children. Of course what is described here is the optimum situation. There are lesser degradations of this model.

Career and family demands change as career and family stages change. The next two sections detail career and family stages.

Career Stages

This model of career stages is adapted from Graves, Dalton, and Thompson (1980). It assumes that the necessary preparation, education, and preliminary socialization into an occupation have occurred prior to entering stage 1. The four stages are: Stage 1—apprenticeship; Stage 2—independence/specialization; Stage 3—interdependence/managerial; and Stage 4—director of organization. These stages are discussed below.

Stage 1: Apprenticeship. Stage 1 begins with one's first professional position. Although the apprenticeship is the first career stage, many people remain at this stage throughout their careers. The apprenticeship stage begins with training and indoctrination into the role of subordinate. Trust is built between the individual and the organization during this stage. The apprentice works under the guidance of a more senior worker or manager. At this stage the work is collaborative, that is, the tasks are only a part of a larger project.

Beginning professionals have a strong need to test themselves in relation to their work. They want to apply the skills and competencies they have learned in formal training to challenging work tasks. Routine tasks seldom allow them to actually challenge themselves or demonstrate initiative and creativity. This can be a source of stress and strain. This stress can hold a beginning professional back or it can motivate and encourage the individual to move forward.

The apprentice is expected to accept supervision and criticism willingly. The giving and receiving of feedback requires accepting the dependent role of a subordinate. A delicate balance must be struck between this dependent role and demonstrating the initiative and skills to do independent work. If these skills and abilities are not demonstrated, it is unlikely that management will allow the individual to move into stage 2 and, thus, to work more independently.

The apprentice stage is characterized by less flexibility than the other stages. Deadlines are often strictly imposed because of the scope and deadlines of the larger project. This career stage demands much investment of time and effort to "prove" oneself and move into the next stage. One of the stresses of this stage is the lack of control over the timing of intensive work efforts. The apprentice may be expected to work long periods of overtime. This makes it difficult to plan for stable family or leisure activities and may cause tension among spouses and family members.

Stage 2: Independence/specialization. Earning the responsibility for an area or a project moves an individual into stage 2. In this stage the professional assumes full responsibility for a significant portion of a project or area and works in relative independence. The individual will be expected to produce competently and establish credibility. The indi-

vidual manages his or her own time during this stage and accepts responsibility for the outcome. Although the stage 2 professional is still a subordinate, organizationally the position is one of interdependence and mutual support with peers and managers.

This transition can be a difficult one. It demands that the individual move from the security of depending on a supervisor to the independence of relying on his or her own judgement. Many professionals develop a specialty during this stage. If the focus is on one functional area, the credibility of doing solid professional work can be better established. Thus, visibility increases both inside and outside the organization. Overspecialization at this stage could limit career mobility.

Many professionals remain in this stage throughout their careers. This is especially true for those who choose the career path of a specialist. Dalton, Thompson and Price (1977) found that people in this stage have more flexibility in terms of controlling their own hours. They are less directly supervised than in stage 1. However, long hours are frequently required in this stage in order to progress to stage 4.

Stage 3: Interdependence: managerial. In this stage the role changes to a higher level of responsibility. Responsibility for the work of others takes form as one coordinates, guides, directs, and supports the work efforts of subordinates.

At this stage effective skills for leading and maintaining the work group must be developed. The manager must attend to both the maintenance needs of the group as well as production functions. If the maintenance (interpersonal) needs are ignored, the work team will have low morale, a low level of cohesion, and difficulty in working together to meet task demands. Learning the interpersonal skills necessary for ensuring maximum productivity is one of the challenges for the manager.

This career stage is described as interdependent because the manager's career development is intricately interwoven with that of subordinates. Managers are dependent on their subordinates because their success is evaluated based on the quality, volume, and timeliness of work produced by their subordinates. Subordinates are dependent on their managers for protecting and maintaining the integrity of the work group, acquiring resources and benefits, and assisting with their career development. Effective managers must establish trust and come to terms with control and interdependence issues.

Another important task of a manager is to act as a mentor (developer of people). This requires patient teaching, coaching, and encouragement. It also involves encouraging the protegé(e) to move on to new career challenges. This can be painful, particularly if the mentor has much self-investment in the protegé(e).

The midlevel manager is often caught in the middle between the needs and desires of the work unit and the goals of top management. This can be a stressful position particularly if the organization is facing changes such as cutbacks and reorganizations. One of the challenges for the manager is coping with the stress of being the "buffer." Containing the stress and not transmitting it to subordinates is crucial. If this stress is transmitted to the work group, it is likely to cause insecurity and possible dissention. The manager must also play a dual role with peers. Although

fellow managers are comrades and can form an important support network, there is also an element of competitiveness in these peer relationships. These two conflicting forces must be carefully balanced.

This career stage poses intellectual and interpersonal challenges. It offers opportunities for recognition from one's peers as well as the satisfaction of teaching and helping others' career progression. Managers at this stage have more flexibility and control over their work schedules than those at stages 1 and 2. There is also greater visibility.

Stage 4: Directing the path of the organization. In this stage the individual, as an upper level manager, is able to exert significant influence on the future direction of the organization. The upper level manager has the opportunity to make policy decisions that affect the organization and its employees. This tremendous responsibility can be both burdensome and challenging.

The upper level manager represents the organization in many settings. His or her identity is often synonymous with that of the organization. This can be a comfortable situation if personal values and goals are congruent with organizational values and goals. If there is incongruence, it can produce stress. The upper level manager must not allow his or her identity to become completely defined by an organizational role. This often requires making a conscious effort to separate personal and professional life. One must take care to permit time to pursue a personal life apart from the social and business obligations of one's job.

Because the upper level manager is so visible, there are many opportunities to act as a sponsor or mentor. The upper level manager can also interact with other upper level managers both inside and outside the organization. These opportunities can provide the upper level manager with a sense of camaraderie and a support network.

The upper level manager has great latitude in terms of the many roles that may be assumed. More resources are available to the upper level manager than to employees at other career stages. Yet the upper level manager may find less flexibility in terms of personal leisure and socializing because much "business" is done in these settings. This may pose a problem for the spouse of the stage 4 employee. Spouses may view the social demands as excessive and as contributing little to their own career development.

Family Stages

Family stage development is diverse because of the complex interaction between the separate individuals composing the family unit, their personal development, the state of the marriage, and a number of outside factors such as the special needs of elderly parents and children. All exert stress on the family unit.

Sociological and developmental models exist that describe family stages with various levels of differentiation. The following model (Table 1) collapses family development into three major stages and highlights issues relevant to career stages. These issues center on family interactions and decisions but are interactive with career issues and stresses. Each affects

Table 1

Model of Family Stages

Early-Stage Families

Becoming a spouse

Issues: the relationship
finances
how decisions are handled
the setting of long-range goals for career and family

Becoming parents

Issues: child care arrangements—outside help
additional costs for family
contingency plans for emergencies
rescheduling of time
adjusting to losses and gains

Raising preschoolers

Issues: evaluating child's growth and development regarding past and future child care
deciding the finite size of family
accommodating to possible increase in family size
evaluating resources: financial, psychological, physical

Middle Stage Families

Families of school-age children

Issues: assuming additional task of interacting with school
becoming responsible for raising responsible children—schoolwork, school concerns

(Table 1 continued)

deciding on level of extracurricular activity for children and possible extra duties of carpooling, participation, etc.

Maintaining the couple
Issues: not being overwhelmed by demands from work, children
maintaining separate and couple activities
socializing with other couples in areas other than child issues

Late-Stage Families
Weathering adolescent children
Issues: being able to maintain position at head of family hierarchy regarding limit setting
dealing with testing of limits, feelings of anger, frustration, and fear concerning the finished product
keeping lines of communication open
providing enough supervision
managing future plans for children
evaluating balance between work and home

Caring for aging parents
Issues: dealing with additional burdens, fears, guilt, anger, financial strains individual cases may present
managing time to care for own children at same time

Becoming a couple again
Issues: evaluating losses and gains as children depart
fine-tuning or overhauling relationship attending to more self development

Becoming grandparents
Issues: widowhood

the other in terms of time management, perceived support in the relationship, available resources and energies, and level of commitment.

Early-stage family (1). The major task of the early stage family is the initiation of new roles and patterns of interaction. The distinct phases are becoming a spouse, becoming parents, and raising preschoolers.

Becoming a spouse, even following a live in relationship, requires an adjustment to the role prescriptions for husband and wife. Two lives must be meshed. Issues revolve around the basic functioning of a family. For example, relationships between spouses, in-laws, and friends, decision-making procedures, allocation and distribution of finances, and setting long-range career family goals are generally major concerns.

Becoming parents requires an adjustment to the role prescriptions for mother and father. The couple is also introduced to the pressures of child care arrangements if both parents pursue continuous careers. Relationship issues center on adjusting to each other as parents, to their own parents as grandparents, and to friends. Adjustment entails both gains and losses. Financial concerns center on adjustment to additional costs. Time is a major stress factor at this stage that must be managed and negotiated. Raising preschoolers initiates new developmental tasks for the couple. They must take charge of the growth and development of offspring. Decisions involve determining the finite size of the family and evaluating the family's resources (financial, psychological, and physical). If additional children are planned and conceived, the family must accommodate to the increase in numbers.

Middle-stage family (2). The major task of the middle stage family is maintenance. The distinct phases are raising school-age children, and preserving the couple relationship.

Parents of school-age children have worked out their roles, and children have not yet reached the more tenuous age of adolescence. However, another power and potential stressor is the formalized school system. Parents decide how much responsibility to accept in raising responsible children who will complete school work and study for exams. The balance may change with each child and each set of teachers a new school year brings. Decisions must also be made as to the level of involvement children may develop in extracurricular activities. This is contingent on needs for financing, parental participation, and carpooling or transportation requirements. Couples issues center on the balance between their own commitments and those for their children.

Maintenance is very important in preserving the couple relationship. The concern here is that the couple does not become so overwhelmed by demands from work and children that they lose the male-female relationship. In other words, the parent, cohousekeeper, and taskmaster roles must not overtake the couple completely.

Late-stage family (3). Late-stage families in our model face two major tasks, conflict and integration. Specific phases include weathering adolescent children, caring for aging parents, becoming a couple again, becoming grandparents, and facing widowhood.

Conflict during this stage is cross-generational. The couple faces potential stress from their children and their own parents. As patterns of

CONJOINT CAREER COUNSELING

multiplied when both partners pursue careers. Career counseling becomes a relationship problem because the family unit no longer revolves around one career. When one person is struggling with a career issue, often all family members feel the impact in some way. Schein (1978, p. 53) stated, "The potential conflicts between work and family are likely to be more severe than the conflict between work and self-development or self and family development, because work and family are likely to involve more extensive external commitments." Also interdependency of systems means that dysfunction in one area affects all other areas.

Family homeostasis is a term that refers to that balance in relationships toward which families work (Jackson, 1957). If homeostasis is threatened, members act overtly and covertly to maintain it. Usually some event occurs that precipitates symptoms leading to the client's seeking counseling. Examples of such events are usually work or family changes (see Table 2). Integration of the change becomes necessary. Strain is put on family members and redefinition of the system affects homeostasis. In relating the concept of homeostasis to conjoint family therapy, Satir (1967, p. 6) stated, "The family homeostasis can be functional (or 'fitting') for members at some periods of family life and not at others, so events affect members differently at different times. But if one member is affected by an event, all are to some degree."

Conjoint career counseling follows the same principles. Dual-career involvement forces decisions on the couple about when to give and when to receive. This is a constantly changing scenario. They need to strike a balance in each situation of what each wants, does best, will perform, and in what manner. The outcome must be dual, yet each must perform individually and assertively without invading or overriding the other. Both need to be reality oriented and set realistic goals.

Conjoint career counseling allows the counselor to observe the client in both work and family roles. The chance also exists to be an objective observer on occasion rather than the more typical interactive career counselor.

Conjoint career counseling can best be illustrated by cases taken from the authors' files dealing with dual-career couples at various stages of career and family development. As with any counseling specialty, knowledge of the client population is essential. For conjoint career counseling, this knowledge incorporates life span developmental psychology, specifically family stages and career stages, as discussed earlier.

Family and career stages have been incorporated into a notational system for identifying cases. The letters M and F indicate sex and the notation following each indicates the career stage of each spouse. The number at the end in parentheses ( ) indicates the family stage the couple shares. A notation, M1F2(2) would refer to a family at middle stage (2), with the husband M at apprentice stage 1, and the wife F at the specialist/independent stage 2.

Case 1 M3F2(3)

Bob and Anne are both 44, have been married 20 years, and have three children, ages 18, 15, and 14. He is a chemist in charge of a research division, and she is a high school history teacher.

Table 2

Issues of Change for Dual-Career Couples

Work	*Interpersonal*—change related to subordinate, supervisor, top management, or self *Monetary*—increase or decrease in pay base for self, spouse, co-worker *Power*—increase or decrease in power status for self, spouse, or co-worker *Work Assignment*—change in work assignment or work location for self, spouse, or co-worker
Family	*Biological*—developmental stage of self, spouse, or child such as puberty, adolescence, menopause, illness *Educational*—change for self, spouse, or child; further training or time commitment; departure of child for college *Social*—entrance or exit of family member from basic unit, temporary or permanent; increase or decrease in external activities; geographical move *Interpersonal*—change related to self, spouse, or other family member

Anne has tired of her teaching career. It suited her interests and needs when her children were younger. She recently attended a career development workshop at a local college. During the workshop she decided to return to school for a law degree.

Because Bob was skeptical about Anne's decision, Anne sought individual career counseling. It was apparent that Bob's input was very important to Anne and that her uncertainty was triggered by Bob's doubts. Bob was asked to attend the next sessions. Bob stated that he felt law was a very boring profession. It was an occupation with longer hours than teaching. Also he wasn't sure exactly why, but he felt Anne would really be better off remaining in her original field or seeking a less stressful new career. They had already had long hours of discussion, and Anne was upset by Bob's negative attitude.

Counseling revealed that Bob was at a point in both career and family stages where people were maturing, changing, and moving away from his guidance and control. At work, one of his junior level scientists had received a highly valued award and, in assuming independent research projects, had left a void in Bob's professional team. At home, Bob's eldest daughter had just entered an out of state college. Anne's desire to retrain had paralleled these themes and as a result Bob had resisted. He had not really been aware of contributing events and his underlying fears that Anne, too, would succeed and move away from him.

Anne also was able to share her feelings of loss from their eldest daughter's move. She expressed a need to embark on a new career to fill the perceived void left by children going off on their own. Also she felt increasing boredom with the same yearly curriculum in her present job.

She emphasized her deep commitment to Bob and her belief that their lives together had always held top priority for both of them. She sincerely wanted his approval before moving forward, but stated that she probably would persist in spite of disapproval. When Bob was able to recognize the losses he felt by changes in career and family members' roles and to separate this from his relationship with Anne, he was able to understand her career needs and put his support behind her appropriate second career choice. At the last session, he jokingly referred to himself as the "little man behind the woman" who was destined to be a great success because of his excellent experience in coaching people effectively.

Case 2 M2F3(1)

John, age 50, and Ellen, age 48, have been married 8 years and have two children, ages 3 and 5. The children are enrolled in a nursery day care center.

John, an engineer, came for individual career counseling hoping to become "motivated," and didn't understand why he lacked drive. He was uneasy about his career progression, feeling he should be more interested in "getting ahead." He just seemed to have an apathetic attitude toward life.

Further sessions revealed that John adored spending time with his two sons and had several avocations that he actively pursued. John described Ellen as a "dynamo." She was an advertising executive who he said was somewhat annoyed at John's complacency toward his career.

It was suggested that Ellen participate in the counseling. After overcoming some scheduling problems, they continued in conjoint career counseling until termination.

Through counseling, John recognized that he truly enjoyed a no-pressure work environment and that the press to change was not his, but one he had internalized from Ellen. John and Ellen began to recognize that he was in fact motivated in other areas of his life. It was not lack of drive, but a comfortable fit, that kept him at career stage 2. In fact, when asked to fantasize his ideal job, he closely described his own position. Both John and Ellen were surprised by this, having assumed that John's concerns about apathy were rooted in firm convictions. When they first met 10 years before, John had been very career-oriented.

John's case further illustrates an adult life transition where at or around midlife one seeks a balance between work, family, and personal needs based on a reevaluation of priorities. John was enjoying the challenges his young family and his hobbies brought. Ellen, on the other hand, enjoyed being immersed in a fast-paced, competitive work atmosphere, often spending long hours on projects, with less time to spend with the children, and no current interests in outside activities.

Both John and Ellen learned to recognize the differences in their career needs and to see John's style of work commitment not as a character flaw but as a preference. In fact, they recognized how complementary their styles were. John remained available to attend to their children's needs, carpooling them to school, taking them to doctor's appointments, and staying at home when they became ill. He continued to respect and admire Ellen's career drive, but no longer saw it as the yardstick by which to measure himself. He did in fact have a creative job and both partners now recognized themselves as highly motivated individuals with different styles of setting priorities.

Case 3 M4F2(2)

Elizabeth is 35 and Peter is 36. They have been married for 12 years and have two children, ages 10 and 8. She is a lawyer and he is a partner in an accounting firm.

Elizabeth has begun to feel bored, unchallenged, and uninterested in the legal research work she had been performing for the past 5 years. She sought counseling assistance to help her deal with her disillusionment. Counseling revealed that Elizabeth's disinterest with her work reflected a mismatch between her achieving style and values and her current position. Counseling sessions focused on clarifying her career values and skills and exploring the options and opportunities available to her. Elizabeth expressed her dissatisfaction with researching legal issues for others and not being able to follow a case to termination. Although she had initially enjoyed a sense that she was contributing in a meaningful way, lately she felt that this kind of piecemeal work was unrewarding. Elizabeth had been offered the opportunity to perform legal defense work, managing legal cases, and arguing them in court, but had declined. Because this position frequently required traveling, she decided that meshing such demanding work with the needs of her family was just not feasible.

After exploring many options in counseling Elizabeth determined that what would fit best with her achieving style, values, and skills was doing legal defense work within her firm. She still felt, however, that this was not compatible with her family's needs. These needs were explored in counseling. Because Peter was central to the beliefs that blocked a career change, he was invited to join the sessions. Elizabeth found that she was operating on the assumption that Peter would not be willing to assume more household and child tasks. When Elizabeth broached this topic with him, she found that this was not the case.

Peter had recently been promoted to the partner level in his firm. He realized that he would not have been able to put as much time and effort into his work, and probably would not have become a partner, if Elizabeth had not assumed the household and child tasks. He was feeling that he "owed" her this new opportunity. Also his new position allowed him more flexibility in time scheduling.

Elizabeth was hesitant at first to believe this. Counseling uncovered her difficulty in letting go and allowing others to do for her. Parallels were seen in her need for this skill as she moved forward in her career also. Elizabeth and Peter negotiated the sharing of responsibilities, as well as Elizabeth's ability to accept the "new" ways in which some of these tasks might be performed. Her firm was more than accommodating and assigned her several cases shortly after she discussed her new plans with her manager.

Peter was able to assume more of the tasks revolving around the children. These included: running carpools, helping them with homework, and cooking. He enjoyed having a more balanced life style and having more time to spend with their children. Peter's involvement allowed Elizabeth to direct more of her efforts toward her work. She found that she enjoyed working with a case from beginning to end, as well as arguing cases in court. She now aspires to the partner level in her law firm.

SUMMARY

It becomes increasingly clear that career counselors deal with career issues that often cannot be viewed in isolation from family stage development and dual-career couple dynamics. Although not all career issues require conjoint counseling, it is a new approach that should be considered in working with clients from dual-career families.

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CHAPTER 13

Counseling Adults in Midlife Career Transitions

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The purpose of this chapter is to provide a framework for understanding and counseling adults in midlife career changes. First, adult development and career development theories are drawn upon in order to understand the context of midlife career changes. Next, counseling approaches are explored for assisting adults in managing their midlife career changes. Then illustrative programs are described that serve midlife career changes.

The nature and extent of midlife career change are complex and not well researched. It had been commonly assumed that by age 35 individuals were settled in their careers and no longer trying out various possibilities. Yet, presently people are involved in a variety of career changes well into upper middle age. In reviewing studies of midlife career change, Waltz (1978) suggested that as many as 25% of men and 30% of business managers between the ages of 35 and 55 are involved in career changes and experience major personality and behavior changes. Because many current research studies include only men, it is difficult to estimate the number of women making midlife career changes.

Fascinating questions are raised as the nature of midlife career change is considered. How is midlife career change a part of the larger process of change and growth during adulthood? How is career change related to reestablishing self-definitions during middle life? How is career change related to satisfaction or distress in other adult roles? What is the meaning of work beyond providing a livelihood? When does career reflect continued growth and development, and when might it involve turning away from personal growth? How do people integrate and express new self-potentialities as they mature in adulthood (Osherson, 1980)? These are

some of the questions counselors face as they seek to understand adults in midlife career transitions.

Adding to the complexity of midlife career change is the fact that career changes can take a variety of forms. Some are voluntary, whereas others involve involuntary terminations. Many career changes take place within organizations through a change of roles; others involve interorganizational or interprofessional transitions. Some adults at midlife shift the meaning of their work without altering their job roles. As the nature of midlife career change is explored, the types of changes will be contrasted and their unifying elements synthesized. This will provide a framework for counseling adults across a variety of career transactions.

As a preliminary step to discussion of midlife career change, it is necessary to define some of the terms used frequently. Although the concept of career has been expanded recently to include maturation and change in all aspects of living (personal growth, family life, civic and occupational roles), a more limited definition will be used in order to provide consistency with the other chapters in this book. *Career change* is defined as changes of an individual's thoughts, feelings, and behavior over the life span in relation to the individual's work role. *Work* includes, but is not necessarily restricted to, paid employment. *Midlife* refers to the period approximately between ages 35 and 55. *Transitions* are events in which an individual (a) experiences a personal discontinuity in life, and (b) must develop new assumptions or behavioral responses because the situation is new or the required behavioral adjustments are novel (Hopson & Adams, 1977). Transitions need not be career-related, but also may include relocation, marriage, divorce, or disability.

THEORIES RELATED TO MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGE

Until midcentury, it was commonly assumed that little personality change took place following adolescence. Most developmental and vocational researchers focused on childhood and adolescent changes. Carl Jung and Erik Erikson were two exceptions. Jung (1933) described the process of "mid-life individuation" that begins about age 40 and continues through adulthood. Erikson's *Childhood and Society* (1950) described his theory of the human life cycle. Levinson (1980) noted later that it is a "charming irony" that a book with Erikson's title would provide the basis for the next generation's study of adult development.

Levinson (1980) offered a tapestry as being a useful metaphorical image of adulthood. Each person's life is like a huge tapestry threaded by interrelated roles around occupation, friendships, career networks, family relationships, and leisure activities. The meaning of each thread or role depends on its place in the total design of the tapestry. Adult development research and theories have focused on different aspects of this tapestry. Some, such as Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, and McKee (1978), Erikson (1950), and Gould (1978) have studied the tapestry over time. Super (1957) and Shein (1978) focused primarily on the single-career thread of the tapestry. Still others, such as transition theorist Schlossberg (1981, 1984), Hopson and Adams (1977), and Pearlin and Schooler (1978), described individual responses to major life transitions. Each

perspective illuminates a particular aspect of adulthood, yet each is incomplete in itself.

To understand the process of midlife career change, the interwoven contributions of adult development, career development, and transition theorists need to be examined. Five representative adult and career development theorists have been selected for review: Erikson, Levinson, Gould, Super, and Holland. Their contributions to understanding adult career development will be used as a context for transition theory, which will provide a background for describing our assumptions about counseling midlife changers.

Erikson

Erik Erikson's (1950) framework for understanding adult development has been one of the most influential descriptions of human development across the life span. Erikson described three developmental stages corresponding to periods of adulthood. Late adolescence until early middle age is considered a period when an individual must meet the developmental task of achieving "intimacy versus isolation." Erikson refers to intimacy as "the ability to share with and care about another person without fear of losing oneself in the process" (Elkind, 1977). Intimacy includes the relationship between friends, but it need not involve sexuality. If a sense of intimacy is not established with friends or a partner, the result, in Erikson's view, is a sense of isolation. The individual ends up alone without anyone for mutual sharing or caring.

Middle age is characterized by the task of "generativity versus self-absorption." Generativity refers to an individual's concern for others beyond the immediate family—future generations and the world in which those generations will live. This task often involves mentoring and being aware of social needs. Failure to establish this sense of generativity results in absorption with one's own personal needs and comforts.

Erikson's final stage of old age is described as "integrity versus despair." The sense of integrity arises from the individual's ability to look back on life with satisfaction. At the other extreme is the individual who looks upon life as a series of missed opportunities and missed directions. Now in the twilight years the individual realizes that it is too late to start again. For such a person the inevitable result is a sense of despair at what might have been (Elkind, 1977).

Erikson's stages of development are hierarchical so that each stage builds upon preceding stages. Nevertheless, an individual who has difficulty mastering the tasks of one stage may find new solutions to them at a later stage.

Levinson

Levinson and his colleagues (1978) developed a descriptive framework of male adult development involving a sequence of four life stages based on common social events. Each stage is separated by a short, and usually unstable, transition period. Levinson's model is more invariant than Erikson's, but is similar to his in that it characterizes the adult life course as involving flux and discontinuity.

Levinson's concept of life structure involves the patterning of one's sociocultural world, participation in social roles, and self-expression in a developmental process. This life structure evolves through stable and transitional periods. Stable periods allow a person to make crucial choices, build a life structure around them, and then seek to attain particular goals and values within this structure. The primary developmental task of a transitional period is to terminate the existing structure and to work toward the initiation of a new structure. Each stable and transitional period has its own distinctive tasks reflecting its place in the life cycle. Periods are defined according to these tasks rather than to specific external events or inner states.

The early adult transition, lasting from roughly ages 17 to 22, bridges childhood and adulthood. The first task of this period is to start moving out of the preadult world. This involves questioning the nature of one's place in it, modifying existing relationships with important persons and groups, and reappraising the self. The second task is to explore the possibilities of the adult world and to test some preliminary choices for adult living.

From ages 22 to 28 the shift of an individual's life from child to "novice adult" involves creating an adult life structure. During this early adult period, an individual is confronted by the antithetical tasks of exploring the possibilities of adult living while creating a stable life structure. This period often involves making initial choices regarding occupation, love relationships, life style, and values.

Levinson refers to these four issues as having central importance during early adulthood. Visions of future life styles, or "the Dream," often involve development of a mentor relationship with an older adult who will support and facilitate the realization of the dream. The mentor serves as a teacher, sponsor, exemplar, and counselor. The young adult forms an occupation through a variety of routes over the entire novice period. Marriage often takes place during this period. Some men marry what Levinson terms "the special woman" who functions like a mentor in that she is connected with the man's dream. Seventy percent of Levinson's sample experienced crises as they worked to create a balance between keeping options open and arriving at a crystalized definition of themselves as adults.

The age thirty transition, lasting about 5 years, provides a time of reappraisal and a second chance to create a more satisfying life structure. This transition may be hardly noticeable or may lead to a personal crisis where the person's entire future may be in doubt. Only 18% of Levinson's sample experienced a smooth transition. The period between ages 30 and 40 is considered a settling down period in which a man's tasks are to establish a niche in society and to advance in efforts to build a better life. Roughly half of the sample experienced smooth advancement whereas others declined, were unable to find stability, or broke out to find a new life structure. The late 30s are suggested to be the period of "becoming one's own man." Levinson's men often severed relations with mentors and sought to become more independent of other individuals and institutions while still seeking affirmation in society.

The midlife transition from ages 40 to 45 provides an opportunity to reappraise the life structure of the settling down period. There tends to be a time shift associated with one's realization of mortality. During this period many aspects of the dream are recognized as "illusions." Many men began to question long-held assumptions and beliefs about themselves and the world. Eight percent of Levinson's sample experienced crises during this period. Men reported feeling older, coming to a greater sense of generativity, and realizing the gap between the dream and what they had become. This either led to regrets or a determination to close the gap in a final burst of renewed career activity. The questioning of this period often leads to reassessment of the dream, marriage, and relations with young adults. The "de-illusionment" and resulting modifications of the life structure provide the commitments for middle adulthood and beyond.

Levinson's age periods overlap in spite of being age linked and occurring in a fixed sequence. Levinson describes this overlap metaphorically as a long-distance traveler who changes vehicles, passengers, and baggage, but whose past does not disappear. He believes that his developmental stages have a biological, psychological, and social basis. Through the current unpublished work of his students, Levinson is shown to believe that women experience similar age transitions involving different developmental tasks.

Gould

Gould (1978) described periods of flux and satisfaction during adult years in terms of changes in major assumptions. Gould's framework described what he terms a change from "childhood consciousness" to "adult consciousness" as an individual moves through late adolescence and adulthood. He believes that as individuals grow older they eliminate childhood distortions that restrict life. They move from an orientation of "I am their" (referring to parents) to "I own myself." The emerging adult strips away various false assumptions at each stage of the life cycle, then reevaluates his or her life style according to inner values. The final result is a shedding of childhood fantasies about simplicity and control during midlife, and realization of inner directedness and self ownership in later life.

Each adult era becomes associated with dominant self-descriptive themes. Late adolescence, for example, involves issues of separation from family and exploration of the adult world. During the 20s the individual establishes increased independence and views the world from a more complex perspective. The early 30s tend to be a time of personal reassessment. There is often a turning away from the active social life of the 20s and a new focus on child rearing. During the late 30s and 40s, the individual is confronted with commitments toward work choice, well-being, and money. There is also an awareness of progressive deterioration due to aging. The 40s thus involve an unstable period of personal reassessment and discomfort followed by a general stabilization of changes started in the 30s. In the 50s one begins to feel less responsible for one's children and shows increased concern for health and retirement.

Middle age is often accompanied by a shift in time perspective. The realization of being in "the second half of life" (Levinson et al., 1978) may bring about a shift toward greater generativity and concern about others. Yet, it may bring distress and crisis. Individuals often become concerned with their life progress in relation to an idiosyncratic or normative "schedule" of life accomplishments. They may feel "behind" in reaching a dream they held or "off time" with respect to their peers.

Middle age is a time when men tend to become more sensitive and nurturing, more interested in love than power, and more dependent. Women often move in the opposite direction—away from a nurturing position and dependency on others (Brim, 1976). In this sense, both men and women evolve toward an interdependence that balances needs for independence and dependence.

Although researchers disagree on the existence of age related stages, most authors believe that adult development is characterized by a repetitive cycle of stable and fluctuating periods. Levinson's metaphor of the life course as "seasons of the year" seems apt. It is not uncommon for someone experiencing transition to feel confused and doubtful about her or his life course. Vaillant (1977) found that every individual (including the best adjusted) in his research sample reported experiencing a crisis in adult life to the extent that he or she would have benefited from psychiatric help.

Periods of adult development seem to vary by cultural, sexual, and social class variables. Because of the great variability in the role expectations for social subgroups, it is difficult to adequately describe phases of adult development. There seem to be some universal issues of adult life, but the socially preferred ways of confronting these issues vary.

CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

Various career development researchers have focused on the importance of developmental career stages. Their theories "specify that individual development proceeds through a series of stages, each of which requires the mastery of developmental tasks and/or resolution of developmental issues unique to that stage. Movement to subsequent stages is viewed as contingent upon the satisfactory completion or resolution of previous stages." (Campbell & Heffernan, 1983)

Super

Super's (1957, 1977) writings provide the core assumption of most developmental theorists. He described career development as an evolutionary process occurring over the life span. Super's theory emphasizes that as an individual moves through the life cycle, each stage of that cycle calls for a different kind of vocational behavior. Adolescence is a period of preparation in which the individual crystallizes his or her ideas about appropriate work and makes relevant educational choices. During the late teens and early 20s, young adults must narrow their vocational directions and begin to implement a vocational preference by completing appropriate training and entry employment. After a young adult becomes

established, the task of middle age is to stabilize and consolidate one's career. The final stage of career development is retirement, although it is considered increasingly as an opportunity for a new or continued career.

Several writers have further developed Super's framework and related it to adult career development. Sherman's (1978) list of career-related developmental tasks for early and middle adulthood involves primarily career entry and advancement in the early and middle years. Then career decline or voluntary renewal characterize later middle age. The final tasks are disengagement from work-related satisfactions and finding new sources of fulfillment.

Campbell and Heffernan (1980) have adapted Super's developmental tasks and applied them to individuals involved in midcareer change. Midcareer changers as well as young people encounter the "preparation" tasks of career development. These tasks involve decisions regarding vocational direction and implementation of the choices. Midlife workers must also complete "establishment" tasks that involve becoming oriented and adapted to the organizational environment. Additional tasks are establishing harmonious relationships with coworkers, learning the requirements of the position, and demonstrating one's competence. In this stage, individuals need to examine their job satisfaction, consider advancement opportunities, and develop future career plans. To manage careers satisfactorily, individuals must be able to succeed at "maintenance stage" career tasks that involve adjusting to changing organizational needs as well as reevaluating work performance goals. Problems with any of these tasks might lead to midlife career change.

Holland

Holland's (1973) theory of career choice provides another important perspective on midlife career change. This theory emphasizes the importance of congruence or fit between one's personality pattern and demands of the work environment. Holland suggests that an individual most resembles one of six types of people: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, or conventional. In the same way, work environments may also resemble these six types. Each work environment is dominated by a given type of personality. For example, social environments are dominated by social personalities, realistic environments by realistic personalities, and so on. People and congruent work environments seek each other. Individuals search for work environments that will let them express their personalities and reward them for their skills and values. Environments search for people who are congruent with their dominant type through friendships and recruiting practices.

Holland believes that lack of congruence or fit between people and their work environment is the primary factor accounting for career change. He states that stable career patterns are most likely to occur when one's work environmental patterns resemble one's personality pattern. When these patterns are congruent, the person receives selective reinforcement for her or his behavior. A discrepancy between one's personality pattern and work environmental pattern, however, results in career dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction is resolved by changing oneself, restructuring

one's current work environment, or changing careers. Holland also suggests that an undifferentiated or inconsistent personality pattern can also contribute to a poor fit with one's work. Various counseling instruments such as the Strong Campbell Interest Inventory and the Self Directed Search can be used to identify an individual's personality pattern according to Holland's codes.

TRANSITION THEORIES

Transition theories describe the process of coping with life transitions. They consider similarities and differences among transitions and the varieties of coping strategies that are utilized. Schlossberg (1981, 1984), Hopson and Adams (1977), and Pearlin and Schooler (1978) are representative of research investigators using this framework to understand life transitions.

Transition theories describe responses to transitions in terms of loss and reattachment. The experience of tangible or symbolic loss often leads to a reorganization of self concepts and the need to use a wide range of coping skills to resolve the loss. The reorganization of self involves development of new assumptions and beliefs about oneself and the world. For example, a woman who becomes aware that she will no longer progress in her organization may experience a loss of role. No longer a "climber," she may need to develop a new set of beliefs about herself and her career. She might also need new skills for coping with her career standstill. Brammer and Abrego (1981) suggested a taxonomy of basic coping skills for life transitions. These skills include situational responses to transitions, developing and utilizing external and internal support systems, managing emotional and physical distress, and skills for planning and implementing change.

Transition theories are most useful when viewed in the broader context of developmental theories. In this way, attention is given to the immediate process of midlife career change and yet such a change is viewed in relation to earlier life history and long range implications. Additionally, midlife career change is viewed in relation to other developmental events occurring simultaneously. These might include divorce, death of a parent, or children entering school or leaving home. Osherson (1980) used this developmental approach in studying a small group of male midlife career changers. The approach in this chapter to counseling adults in midlife career change leans heavily on transition theories placed in a larger developmental context.

Several important assumptions are made here about midlife career change. First, midlife career change (particularly voluntary change) cannot be isolated from the developmental issues of midlife. There seems to be a continuum on which midlife developmental issues and career changes are interwoven. For some individuals a midlife career change represents a strategy for coping with the developmental task of individuating or becoming more of a "whole person." Such a person may be searching for ways to become more generative, nurturing, or independent. For others, career change is linked more to specific job-related factors such as poor relationships with supervisors.

Second, midlife career change involves an attempt to find a better fit between one's midlife self-identity and a work environment that provides an opportunity for integrating dreams and goals. For some people, career transitions may be attempts to cope with the discrepancy between the anticipated self of young adulthood and the perceived self at midlife. This discrepancy may precipitate or be precipitated by a career change and will result in an experience of loss and grief.

Third, when career change becomes a strategy for coping with developmental issues, it can be either growth-oriented or may represent a retreat. It becomes growth-oriented when it offers an opportunity to integrate more of one's total personality into one's life style. This kind of career change enables the individual to better manage other midlife developmental tasks. Career change can also represent a retreat from facing fearful developmental issues and may prematurely foreclose important midlife tasks.

Fourth, the process of coping successfully with midlife career transitions is facilitated by broad, flexible coping skills for managing life transitions, and career transitions in particular. Metaphorically, it is useful to think of coping strategies as "tools in a tool box" or "arrows in a quiver." If something must be fixed or a bull's-eye must be hit, there will be more possibilities of success than with only one tool or arrow.

MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGE AS A TRANSITION

Various researchers have studied the causes of midlife career change. It is obvious that there are multiple reasons for people to change their careers. Some motivation comes from broad social changes affecting individuals. Entine (1977) cited the rise of the women's movement as increasing the entry and reentry of women into the work force. Technological changes have prematurely ended careers for some people and opened opportunities for others. A changing life expectancy and new retirement policies lead people to seek more satisfactions from their work.

There are also internal motivations for midlife career change. Internal conflicts over development issues may lead to new goals, the desire to satisfy higher level needs, and the desire for new purposes and aspirations. Sonick's (1977) list of motivations for career change includes:

1. initial career not person's own choice;
2. dead end in advancement;
3. desire to implement avocational interests;
4. disproportion between prescribed and discretionary duties;
5. lack of variety;
6. excessive work pressure;
7. excessive physical demands;
8. dissatisfying employer policies;
9. personality conflicts;
10. lack of social status;
11. low earnings;
12. co-workers divergent in values and life styles; and
13. incongruence with vocational interests.

There are various types of midlife career changes as well as multiple motivations. Louis (1980) developed a typology of career transitions that includes interrole and intrarole categories.

Interrole transitions involve taking on a new and different career role. There is career *entry transition*, such as a homemaker entering a new job in business. *Interprofessional transitions* involve shifting from one profession to another. A less radical career change occurs when a person transfers from one department to another within the same organization, termed an *intraorganizational transition*. The final interrole transitions in Louis's typology are the *exit transitions*, which may be voluntary exits such as child care leaves and sabbaticals, or involuntary terminations.

Intrarole transitions involve an individual's internal change of attitude without actually altering the job role. Some employees want change, but do not want to change organizations or job roles because of personal constraints (e.g., loss of pension plans). Pearlin and Schooler (1978) found that these dissatisfied employees coped with work frustrations by changing their attitudes. One such coping mechanism was the use of positive comparisons such as "count your blessings" or "we're all in the same boat." Current frustrations may then be evaluated as being an improvement over the past or as a forerunner of an easier future. "Selective ignorance" was a second method for attending to the positive qualities of the experience. A third strategy for changing the meaning of one's work was to change one's hierarchy of priorities, devaluing unavailable rewards and substituting others (e.g., devaluing money and intrinsic work reward and valuing rewards extrinsive to work). Whereas midlife career changes are typically active strategies to cope with career frustrations, these strategies represent more subtle forms of midlife career change. It is possible for individuals to cope with career crises by changing the internal meaning of their work rather than the actual job itself.

FACTORS AFFECTING PERSONAL REACTIONS OF A MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGE

Motivation

Motivation for career change is an important consideration in how a career transition is experienced. Voluntary midlife career changes are generally less stressful than are involuntary changes, and may require different counseling approaches. For example, the voluntary career changer primarily may need support or help in managing fear of failure. An involuntary career changer may be more strongly affected by loss, grief, anger, and threatened self-esteem. Another factor affecting the experience of career change is the degree to which the transition was perceived as predictable. Sometimes the grief of involuntary career change is lessened when the employee has anticipated a possible termination for some time. For example, one middle-aged bank officer said when terminated, "I saw this coming. I should have resigned 5 years ago."

Magnitude

The magnitude of the transition and the rate of change may also affect the career changer's experience. A sudden transfer across the country away from supportive friends is likely to be more stressful than a more gradual, less disruptive transfer.

Support

The environment, particularly the human environment, can reduce the impact of a career change. A supportive human environment often has a reservoir of social resources (e.g., family, friends, clergy, agencies) from which an individual can seek support in time of transition. Lowenthal and Haven (1968) suggested that the presence of an intimate relationship serves as a buffer against social losses such as those accompanying career changes.

Control

Two important characteristics affecting the experience of a stressful transition are one's perceived control over threatening situations and one's ability to manage anxiety. To the extent that people judge themselves to have control in a situation, the probability is that they will be less likely to perceive that situation as threatening and, in turn, less likely to manifest adverse reactions. When individuals believe they have little control over their circumstances, they are more likely to develop a negative expectancy about the future. This expectancy can result in feelings of helplessness, depression, frustration, anxiety, hostility, or disinterest.

Anxiety

The second important personality factor affecting the experiences of career transition is one's ability to manage anxiety. Sarason (1974) suggested that under stress, highly anxious people become preoccupied with themselves. They respond to threats by retreating into fantasy and attending only to annoying, angry, or anxious thoughts. Self-preoccupation generates physiological arousal that interferes with information processing and planning strategies.

TYPICAL INDIVIDUAL REACTIONS TO MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGE

It is important to recognize that each person has a unique response to career transitions. It is not helpful for anyone to be pigeonholed into "model experiences" that they are supposed to fit. It is annoying for a counselor to suggest that they are in a "midlife crisis" because it minimizes the unique experience of their transition. Yet, it is helpful for counselors to realize that career transitions have much in common with other life transitions. It is for this reason that we present a process model

of transitions described by Hopson (1981). Hopson stated that not everyone's transition fits the model and that "even where an experience does follow the model's flow, it is rarely smooth or continuous as the curve suggests. Progress typically is more of the two steps forward, one step back variety" (p. 37).

Hopson developed a process model for phases of a transition that is useful for discussing intervention strategies. The phases are related to one's emotional or mood experience and are plotted in Figure 1.

Phase 1: Immobilization and Shock

Immobilization describes the beginning awareness that one has entered a transition, whether perceived as desirable or undesirable. Both the good news and bad news typically produce an absence of feeling as the person appraises the meaning of the situation. The degree of immobilization varies with the intensity, predictability, and voluntary-involuntary nature of the transition. Immobilization is followed quickly by an emotional response. A positively perceived career change is usually followed by positive feelings, ranging from mild pleasure to elation. A negatively perceived career change is typically followed by a mood reduction.

Phase 2: Minimization

Minimization is a term denoting both regret and denial. When people make a positive career change, they often experience relief and good feelings at first. Then they begin to question what they have done and often experience remorse about leaving their former roles. Consequently, good feelings are lowered as they begin to experience doubts about whether their new career roles will live up to their expectations. When people are told that they have been terminated their usual despair is often followed by denial. This denial reaction provides important stop-time to give the person relief from suffering and the necessity to do something prematurely to adjust. Denial may help the person to feel better as a result, and this phase may last for a long time.

Phase 3: Self-Doubt

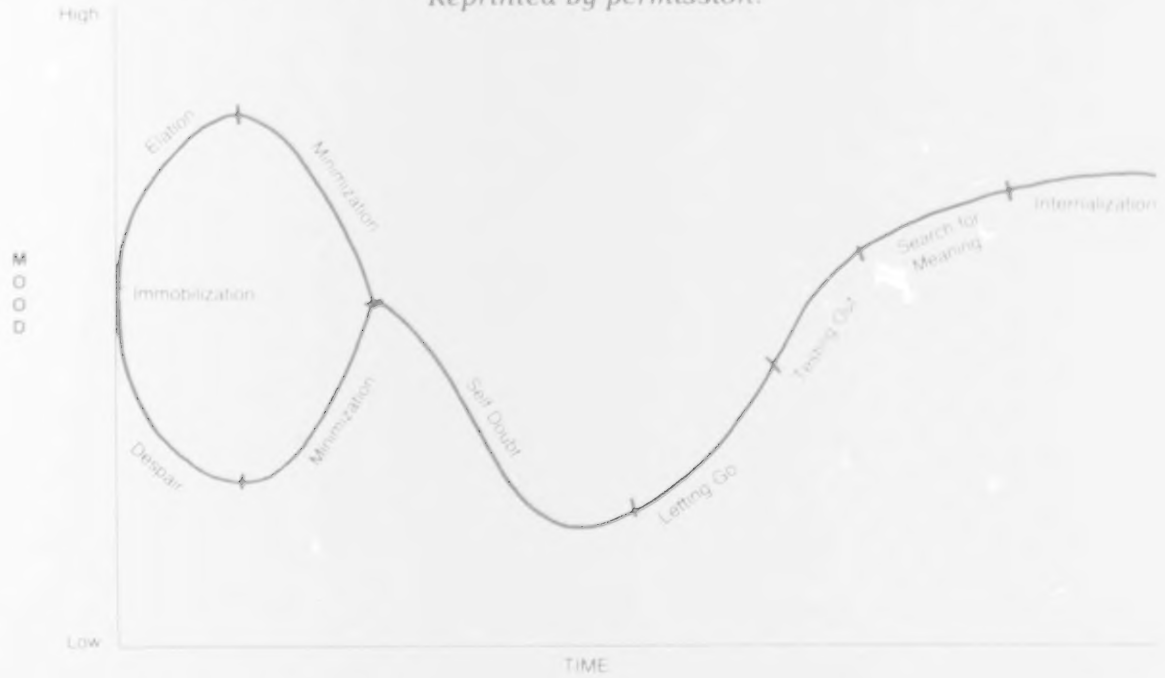
Hopson (1981) states that following minimization "a period of self-doubt often begins and the person will not emerge out of this until he or she has successfully recognized and dealt with any negative feelings that have occurred of loss, anger, jealousy, frustration, disappointment, etc. Letting go of these and old expectation is literally and usually (in the model) 'turning the corner' and an upward mood swing takes over" (p. 37). Some people experience intense sadness early in this phase, and they may show signs of depression.

Phase 4: Letting Go

A critical point is reached in dealing with self-doubts about career changes when people let themselves go into the feeling (i.e., experience

Figure 1

Seven-Phase Model of Stages Accompanying Transition. From "Response to the Papers by Schlossberg, Brammer, and Abrego" by B. Hopson, 1981, *The Counseling Psychologist, 9,* p. 38. Copyright 1981 by Division 17 of American Psychological Association. Reprinted by permission.



it deeply). This permission may lead to tears and expression of anger, or it may evoke a cognitive experience of letting go of their resistance to change and their commitments to the past work. Then they will flow with the new experience.

Phase 5: Testing Options

When the reality of the experience of loss comes clearly into awareness and the past is released, a person typically begins to explore new options tentatively. In this phase, a person might be exploring various career change possibilities.

Phase 6: Search for Meaning

Reassessing commitment to one's values and life style is a central aspect of making career transitions. As one tests new options for living, these choices call into question one's previous values as well as future commitments. This period of active reflection may lead to a change in one's values or a recommitment to old values. A new perspective on one's previous career path often emerges.

Phase 7: Integration and Renewal

In this phase new assumptions, behaviors, and decisions are integrated into a changed life style. Personal renewal is often experienced, although reflection on one's career transition may still generate anxious feelings. There is a sense that the transition is completed and that the transition experience will have a salutary influence over future directions.

COUNSELING MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGERS

In this section the process of counseling adults in midlife career change is discussed. Some general principles of counseling these individual and various counseling formats are described.

Counselors who have provided services to young adults as well as to middle-aged persons know that there are some unique pleasures in counseling midlife adults. Their maturity gives them better judgment about their motivations, priorities, and commitments. They often have wider work experience and thus have more data about their career interests and abilities. Middle-aged adults are less likely to expect a "test them and tell them" experience from a counselor. They tend to realize that the answers to their longings are to be found within themselves rather than from an expert or a vocational interest test.

Middle-aged career changers also provide some unique challenges to counselors. These challenges come in the form of subtle biases that may be related to conceptions about appropriate age behavior, sexual stereotypes, risk taking, important work values, and more. Rather than generate a long list of such possible biases, a few relevant assumptions for counseling midlife adults will be discussed.

Counseling Goals

It is of primary importance to consider the counseling process as more than "matching people with jobs." Career counseling is aimed at helping adults to: (a) assess their values, abilities, and interests; (b) enhance their general coping and career decision-making skills; and (c) implement choices where more of their self-concept can be expressed in their life styles.

Job Satisfaction

A second principle is the importance of recognizing that one's job does not have to be inherently satisfying. Counselors may set up frustrating expectations for their clients if they assume one's job satisfaction necessarily determines life happiness. Loughary and Ripley (1976) suggested a helpful framework for categorizing a career into three components: job, vocation, and leisure. *Job* refers to activities that contribute to basic survival needs (e.g., making a living); *vocation* refers to activities that provide a sense of fulfillment, self-worth, and meaning; *leisure* activities contribute to recreational and aesthetic pleasures. For some people these roles overlap considerably, whereas for others there is little overlap between job, vocation, and leisure. For individuals who do not necessarily want, or cannot find, a job with inherent meaning, there are possibilities of finding satisfying vocational and leisure activities that would provide meaning and fun.

Career Mobility

A related principle is that career mobility is not necessarily available to everyone. Many career counselors assume that there exists a free and open labor market and that people have an array of choices about their careers. Barriers to the labor market exist particularly for the disabled, women, and racial minorities because of discrimination, social and economic factors (e.g., availability of child care resources), and personal skills. But job changers from the majorities may also have limited mobility in a society where economic conditions have led to considerable underemployment.

Career counselors might also be aware of their biases about upward career mobility in terms of achieving increased socioeconomic status, prestige, and responsibility. Many organizations have a pyramidal organizational structure in which there are fewer people at the top than at the bottom. As a result, ambitious individuals may become very frustrated if they simply "try harder" to reach the top. It is important for counselors to recognize that some people would rather devote their energy to other areas of life, such as family or leisure, than to continue to pursue career advancement. Others may wish to give up some of their income or prestige to satisfy other pressing midlife interests.

Sex Bias

In this era of vocal men's and women's liberation movements, it is easy for counselors to assume that they no longer hold sex-linked occupational

stereotypes. Because many counselors continue to hold these stereotypes, they should at least explore the possibility that they possess these biases.

Risking Change

A final assumption that counselors often make is that midlife adults should become "career changers" when they are dissatisfied with their careers. It may be tempting for counselors to subtly and vicariously live out their own fantasies by encouraging a client's career change. Counselors may become disappointed or discouraged if clients do not want to take this risk. It is important to allow clients to make their own decisions regarding the extent of their career changes.

COUNSELING FORMATS

Counseling services for midlife career changers take a variety of forms. Many private services exist for comprehensive career planning help. A growing number of larger businesses, for example, are adding programs called outplacement, inplacement, career counseling, and management succession to their human resource management offices. A few school districts and governmental units are experimenting with pilot programs also.

Outplacement counseling is provided for terminated or about-to-be terminated employees. Outplacement consists of a combination of crisis, grief, family, and career counseling (Brammer & Humberger, 1984). The goal is to have the person placed in a new job, often a new career, in a reasonably short time. With executives, for example, this process takes as long as 10 months to a year. Both individual and group counseling are available and usually start with a self-assessment process followed by instruction in goal-setting and job-seeking skills.

Inplacement counseling, on the other hand, is performed within the organization for employees the company wants to retain, but on the condition that they change their behavior in some significant area. This includes counseling for the marginal employee who may be headed for lateral or downplacement, rehabilitation for the troubled employee, or "refitting" for those who no longer perform up to expectations. Occasionally this counseling involves some retraining for those with obsolete skills, or it may mean planning changes in the way the employee relates to people. Often inplacement counseling involves a change of career direction or planning for early retirement. In any case, businesses are finding that such career counseling is cost-effective in dollars as well as in human terms (Brammer & Humberger, 1984). Such programs have been developed in large corporations such as Citicorp, AT&T, Weyerhaeuser, and government organizations such as Livermore Laboratories and Goddard Space Flight Center.

A number of corporations have instituted career planning programs that help employees plan long-term career development in that organization. They can find their best fit now and obtain a glimpse of their potential growth through such programs. The Tektronix example, described later, is such a program.

Midlife career counseling is often done in group formats. These groups provide a setting isolated from daily hassles to reexamine one's personal values, life goals, and directions. Typical groups are composed of 8 to 10 individuals meeting weekly over a 6-week period. Groups may also meet in a weekend workshop. These groups generally are facilitated by a trained counselor.

Midlife career planning groups involve various self-assessment strategies intended to help participants increase awareness of significant values, priorities, and goals. Lurie (1977, p. 878) indicates this self-assessment includes many life areas:

1. influences that have shaped a person's self-image—including experiences in education, career, family, and other interpersonal influences, introversion and extroversion, fantasies, and previous experiences in seeking employment;
2. a systematic analysis of the participants' work (including volunteer work and hobbies), work skills, specialized knowledge, natural abilities, and accomplishments;
3. current life situation, involving an assessment of values and of activities that decrease or increase anxiety, destroy or build self-esteem, produce pleasure or pain, exhaust or energize, and narrow or expand horizons;
4. Current time expenditures, past goals, friendships, health and energy, and potential or contemplated goals;
5. Long- and short-term goals and an analysis of what they would mean for the participant and his or her family, economic activities, self-concept, and life style. (p. 878)

These groups provide a developmental perspective by using readings by writers on adult development such as Levinson et al. (1978), Sheehy (1976), and Gould (1978). Some groups will teach various transition coping skills to manage stress, maintain self-esteem, make decisions, and gain employment. Groups often provide a strong network of support and offer the opportunity to learn from the experiences of other participants. The group's main drawback is its inability to tailor information to the particular needs of each individual. Groups generally operate on the assumption that all midlife adults need similar experiences. They may not have time to allow for a complete assessment of each participant's needs. Little screening is done for these groups, so some individuals whose midlife transition is not career-related may be diverted from looking at their more primary transitions. Some of these drawbacks can be alleviated by offering individual, client-centered counseling. The client will not get the support or learn from other group participants involved in a similar transition, however.

An example of groups to help midlife career changers are the "Forty Plus" clubs that sprang up in major cities during the budget cutbacks of the early 1980s when many midmanagers and technical personnel members were terminated. These groups were largely of the self-help type that organized to give one another emotional support, but more importantly to share job search information and experience.

Marital and family counseling are often overlooked in dealing with midlife career change. Marital counseling is often a useful adjunct to individual or group counseling because the career decisions of one person affect his or her spouse. Couples counseling is especially useful for dual-career couples or people experiencing a home-career conflict. These persons find marital counseling helpful in negotiating their needs with one another. Robbins (1980) describes many individuals who would have considered midlife career changes but felt unsupported by their spouses. Marital counseling can thus increase the emotional support a career changer receives from his or her spouse. It is also important to note that groups often treat a career changer as though the decision to change careers is a totally independent decision, whereas for many couples it involves a joint decision.

Family counseling can also be useful in cases where a career change affects the entire family. These include situations where the standard of living is likely to drop, or the family is required to make a geographical move. In these transitional situations, family counseling can mobilize mutual support among family members.

Some counseling assumptions and typical counseling formats for helping individuals encountering midlife career transitions have been described. The next section will describe some model programs designed to assist these individuals.

INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMS FOR MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGERS

In recent years numerous programs have been developed within governmental, educational, and private institutions to assist midlife individuals to make career changes. Several programs will be described briefly and then some general issues raised in developing these programs will be discussed.

Midlife career counseling is becoming more important in private industry. This is attributed in part to discontinuation of mandatory retirement policies and the move in more companies toward providing guaranteed employment. When the decision to retire becomes a matter of negotiation between the employer and management, it is possible for many employees to work as long after midlife as before. Some individuals may experience several careers within an organization. As employers stay within a company for longer periods, it becomes economically as well as psychologically desirable to provide career counseling. This counseling assists each individual to develop a career plan that considers both the individual's and the company's needs and interests. The outplacement and inplacement counseling described earlier are examples of programs to accomplish mutual goals.

Tektronix, an Oregon-based electronics firm, provides inplacement career planning based on a general commitment to career mobility (Ferrini & Parker, 1978). Tektronix employees are encouraged to learn other jobs in the company through extensive company educational programs. Additionally there is a tuition refund program that provides full reimbursement for job-related courses and half reimbursement for other courses

taken by employees at educational institutions in the community. Degree programs are offered at plant facilities in cooperation with educational institutions. Tektronix also offers a management training program, educational counseling, and educational loans. Middle-aged employees as well as others are able to explore new career directions through these programs.

Many educational institutions have developed women's resource centers and reentry programs for women reentering college and work outside the home. The University of British Columbia's Center for Continuing Education, Women's Resource Center (Ironside & Buckland, 1979) successfully offers 80 short-term programs annually for women in management and reentry women. Career and life planning as well as peer counseling services are provided. Core courses at the University of British Columbia and other institutions generally focus on developing self-esteem, a stronger identity as a woman, communication skills, career planning, and job-seeking skills.

A related type of program is exemplified by the Mid-Career Counseling Program at the State University of New York at Stony Brook (Entine, 1977). This program offers three noncredit workshops each term—a basic midcareer course, a workshop for women who are coping with midlife adjustments, and an intensive 16-hour weekend workshop on job search strategies. Additionally, vocational and educational counseling services were established in 12 local libraries in a two-county area. This midcareer counseling service has been staffed by counselor interns from several counselor education programs and a midlife assessment program at the SUNY at Stony Brook. Services are supported by grants and course fees.

Various questions are important to consider in developing programs for midlife career counseling. Is it preferable to create special midlife career programs (such as those at SUNY at Stony Brook) or should existing career services be expanded to meet the needs of midlife adults? Will adults participate in programs anticipating midlife concerns or must we settle primarily for services to people already involved in midlife transitions? How can midlife counseling programs become economically self-sustaining? Are there possible cooperative efforts with business, government, and educational institutions? Should counseling services include significant others as well as the individual involved? The answers to these questions will come as new and existing programs are better evaluated.

SUMMARY AND NEEDED RESEARCH

In this chapter we have discussed the theoretical bases and several strategies for counseling midlife career changers. People in midlife are diverse in personal style, coping skills, and counseling needs. Many research questions remain that, if answered, would strengthen our basis for understanding and counseling midlife adults. Examples are: What is the effect of mentoring on both the mentor's and the protege's career development? What effect would removing resource barriers (e.g., money for education, child care) have on the decision to change careers? How is a person's ability to cope with transitions related to the person's productivity and creativity? What educational formats and combinations of

skills are most effective for producing coping behavior? How can people be attracted to learn coping skills in a preventative framework? Are different components of career choice (e.g., values clarification) important at different developmental periods of adulthood?

Although many unanswered questions remain, it is encouraging to find a growing interest in midlife career development among counselors, human resource development specialists, and research specialists in education, government, and private industry.

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CHAPTER 14

Preretirement Programming: Beyond Lectures

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THE WHO AND WHY OF PRERETIREMENT PROGRAMMING

A 42-year-old man: "The job offer was really terrific and I know I would be a lot happier with the challenge there than with my present work. But, if I stay here, in 13 years I can retire; if I take the new job I will have to wait at least 20 years or more."

A 39-year-old woman: "Even though I really liked working in the health food store, and the wages were enough for me to get by on, I woke up one day and realized that here I was, a divorcee, in a job that would never lead to any pension and only minimal levels of social security. Scared? You bet! I had my resume typed by the end of that day."

A 46-year-old lieutenant colonel: "Well, I'm not sure I want to call it retirement. I've got more than my 20 years and it's clear that I'm not going to go any higher up. I'm single and I've made some good investments and actually could retire. Stay, get out, start a new career—what should I do?"

A 58-year-old man: "I took early retirement because I really never had liked my work. But, what with inflation and my wife's medical bills, we're just not making it. I've got to find some kind of paid work; what am I going to do? Who is going to hire me at this age?"

A 68-year-old woman: "Retire? Me? Never!"

A 79-year-old man: "Retirement? Best thing that I ever did. If I had it to do over, I'd take early retirement."

For most people, the term retirement conjures up the image of gray-haired elders. The preceding examples demonstrate that almost every stage of career development, from initial choice onward, may be affected

by retirement issues. In this chapter, first the shifting meanings, theories, and data about what leads to a retirement decision will be presented. Then how that decision potentially affects both the final years of one's paid career and the adjustments of retirement itself will be discussed. The second part of this chapter will complement this knowledge about retirement and career decision making with practical experiences gained from conducting psychologically oriented retirement preparation programs. Each of the phases of approaching and experiencing retirement seems to come with its own special needs and resistances. It has become clear to practitioners who run seminars beyond the six-hour lecture format that involve individuals in self-evaluation and decision making.

The number of people becoming eligible for retirement in almost any organization is a staggering figure. The percentage of persons surviving into their 60s and beyond is rapidly approaching 20%. This, combined with the increasing possibilities for and acceptance of early retirement (Parnes, 1981), often results in a fourth of the work force being eligible for retirement in many organizations.

How does retirement eligibility affect the job performance and career choices of workers? How can companies keep older workers who have special contributions to make? How can companies assist stagnated workers with retirement planning? How satisfied are the company's retirees compared to those from other companies? Does the satisfaction of a company's retirees affect current company image and employee performance? Can steps be taken to maximize performance and good will of employees eligible for retirement? Obviously, these are questions to which any career development specialist in an industrial setting would like to have answers. For practitioners working with retirees in educational and community-based service settings, the focus will be on the kinds of career and social support services that maximize adjustment to retirement.

The questions are easy to ask. The beginnings of answers are found in the sparse literature on both preretirement planning (Migliaccio & Cairo, 1981), the consequences of retirement (Parnore, Fillenbaum, & George, 1984), and the evaluations of preretirement counseling programs (Glamser & DeJong, 1975; Morrow, 1981). However, this empirical knowledge, combined with the experience of career development specialists (with company resources to develop and test different approaches to retirement preparation), provides some useful steps to combating these issues. Moreover, these same data provide a promising foundation for helping both those preretirees suffering from pervasive anxiety and the approximately one-fifth (Parnes, 1981) of all retirees who will come to regret having made that decision.

MEANINGS OF RETIREMENT

Company Perspectives

Career development specialists working with retirement usually have to reconcile the diverse meanings attributed to retirement by both their

employers (the companies) and their constituents (the employees whom they serve). The fit is seldom an exact one and often an uncomfortably oppositional one. Certainly the potential support from a company for retirement programming is related to its own perspectives and attitudes toward retirement. Although retirement has been described from an organization's viewpoint as a necessary and positive process (Donahue, Orbach, & Pollak, 1969; Walker & Lazer, 1978), at the individual company level retirement is often seen, along with health insurance costs, as one of the inevitable penalties of running a company. The rapidly escalating cost of pensions and the high cost of maintaining highly experienced workers in the absence of legal mandatory retirement systems all combine to make some employers want to avoid the retirement issue altogether. Maintaining profitability, good employee morale, and good public image seems almost an impossible goal. Career development specialists may contribute the most to the development of programs in their own settings by careful education of the company managers. Several useful resources that demonstrate the value of employers' involvement in retirement preparation include: Fleisher (1981), Kalt and Kohn (1975), "Retirement Preparation" (1979), Shaw and Grubbs (1981), and "What IBM Retirees Think of Retirement" (1981).

Public Attitudes

Approximately 2 decades ago, retirement was viewed as about as acceptable as being a welfare cheat. Graebner's (1980) book, *A History of Retirement and Empirical Research Over the Past 20 Years* (Goudy, Powers, Keith, & Reger, 1980), charts an amazing shift to much more positive attitudes toward retirement. Workers currently eligible for and entering retirement are doing so in the most positive context in the history of the industrial world. Of course, the reverse side of the coin is that the increased number of persons retiring has made retirement costs a major social issue of the 1980s. This creates the cruel irony that just as retirement becomes a clearly acceptable action, more and more companies (and the government) are making changes that make it less possible financially.

Although the general shift in the public's view can be well documented, this must not be allowed to conceal the tremendous range of views toward retirement that still exists on the individual level. Although significant numbers of persons look forward to retirement in terms of freedom and activity, many still fear retirement as a period of passivity, monotony, and death (described later in this chapter). Identifying and understanding one's own attitude toward retirement is a major step in preparing for retirement. What leads to positive versus negative attitudes about retirement has been investigated again and again; yet the data remain quite inconclusive. Most frequently health and finances are cited as the major contributors to satisfying retirement (Parnes, 1981). Other studies have found these factors less important than career factors (e.g., attitudes toward one's job). Not surprisingly, a less positive attitude toward one's job leads to a more positive attitude toward retirement.

Employees' Actions

Changing attitudes toward retirement have been accompanied by increases both in the percentage of those planning to retire by age 65 (Sheppard, 1981b) and in the variety and complexity of the actions that constitute retirement. Again, up until the last decades, retirement was synonymous with a withdrawal from the work force. Theories of disengagement were predominant (Morgan, 1980). The belief was that most people would withdraw not only from work but also from the friends and activities of their working years. More recent research shows disengagement occurs for only a small portion of retirees. Even in earlier decades, substantial portions of retirees who totally withdrew from the work force maintained high levels of avocational, recreational, and altruistic activities. As will be described in the community-based retirement programs section, services that help a person stay involved in these activities following disengagement from work are the most promising interventions for satisfactory retirement adjustments and increased longevity.

The increased good health of many persons in their 60s and 70s, plus the increasing number of persons in their 50s eligible for retirement pensions has created an entirely new form of retirement. It might more properly be called "late-life career change," in contrast to the already popularized "midlife career change" (e.g. Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). Certainly there are many similarities in the information and decision-making needs for late-life career changers and those outlined for midlife changers. A very major difference that makes late-life career change a more flexible and exciting exploration is the economic security (pension) underlying this change. The pension guarantees minimal income and may provide sufficient income to maintain the current life style; new work is chosen primarily for noneconomic reasons. Parnes (1981) and other studies suggest that 10 to 20% of all retirees engage in some kind of paid employment. Sheppard's (1981a) data suggest that this percentage is steadily moving upward. The current economic situation, a larger number of early retirees, and better health in later years may all be contributing to this trend. Whatever the reason, preretirees and recent retirees may begin to use career information services as much as employees in early stages of development.

A special form of career change (part-time employment) is emerging, especially for those in high-demand occupations. Where shortages of skilled personnel exist, part-time employment in the same career after retirement is an increasingly popular option. In fact, in a recent survey, 53% indicated an interest in delaying retirement if various work options were available. Continuing part-time work in the present job was the most popular work option (Usher, 1981). The high percentage preferring this option surprised employers and researchers alike. There is a growing interest among companies to provide these opportunities rather than have the worker retire and find part-time work with competing companies. Theoretically, companies can benefit from such policies in two ways. First, workers not maximally productive relative to their current salary will be working less than full time and reduce company expenses. Second, outstanding employees who would choose full retirement over full-time

work might choose to work when offered the possibility of continuing on a part-time basis. Various forms of part-time retirement and trial retirement may well be the hallmark of retirement in the late 1980s.

Along with the general trend toward a more positive view of retirement is the seemingly contradictory phenomenon that a given individual's view toward retirement changes as retirement approaches. Although the view of retirement tends to be positive in early middle age, it becomes less positive as the actual retirement approaches (Ekerdt, Bosse, & Mogey, 1980). It is unclear whether this is due to anxiety about retirement or financial realities. The important observation is that many will not retire as early as initially projected in their early 50s.

It would be easy to end this section without acknowledging another "retirement action" available—not to retire. Retirement eligibles who have not retired demonstrate the poignancy of the adage "not to decide is to decide." Choosing to work means no time for the activities and interests that retirees pursue alone or with their families. Work can alleviate fears of change, boredom, depression, loneliness, or increased intimacy. Interestingly, just over 20 years ago a retiree was considered a "loafer." Now the nonretiree may be looked upon as some sort of neurotic workaholic or an old codger who keeps young fresh blood from entering the company. In short, services may be needed for the unretired but eligible-for-retirement as much as for those planning to act upon their eligibility.

Transition

Ultimately, retirement in any form is a major transition that calls for new roles and competencies. Although "winging it" may work in well-established roles, the same behaviors often lead to painful crashes in new roles. The management of transitions from a counseling viewpoint has been well articulated in a special issue of *The Counseling Psychologist* (Brammer & Abrego, 1981; Schlossberg, 1981). The components of cognitive information, social support, and a planning schema are delineated as critical elements in effective transition interventions.

The next section provides critical corrective information that retirees need to manage this transition. The remaining sections are devoted to descriptions of interventions and programs that help provide planning and social support at various preretirement and retirement phases.

AGING AND RETIREMENT: THE RELUCTANT MARRIAGE OF TWO SETS OF MYTHS

Aging Myths

It is hardly a secret that our older years are not viewed as the prime era of life, even though the era is often referred to as the golden years. Palmore (1977, 1981) identified 50 little-known facts of aging that are poorly known by almost everyone from younger persons to middle-aged and aged persons (see Table 1). Anyone planning to work with preretirees, as well as the preretirees themselves, needs to become familiar with these facts. Misunderstandings about these facts constitute a set of myths that

have tremendous impact on attitudes toward retirement. Reichard, Livson, and Petersen showed as early as 1962 that those with better attitudes about aging made the best adjustments to retirement. Because retirement comes only after many years of service, it is, of course, synonymous with being "older" in the minds of many preretirees. Although retirement from work has positive attractions, aging fears such as fear of a decline in mental and physical health and well-being may pervasively color and overbalance any positive views.

With so little well-established information about retirement, it is not surprising that there are myths about retirement beyond myths of aging. The professional experiences of the present authors with preretirees have led to the specification of 12 myths about retirement. In answering questions about these myths as items in a pretest measure for retirement seminars, the typical retiree answers only three of the items correctly and the correct answers are distributed across the items. In the following paragraphs each myth and its folklore is described and then the appropriate evidence is cited to counteract the myth. One caution: Because almost all studies of retirement have focused exclusively on men, relatively little is known about women and retirement; yet women far outnumber men in the retirement years.

Table 1

Items from Palmore's Facts on Aging Quizzes

(Underlined answers are the correct ones)

T	F	1.	The majority of old people (past age 65) are senile (i.e. defective memory, disoriented, or demented).
T	F	2.	All five senses tend to decline in old age.
T	F	3.	Most old people have no interest in, or capacity for, sexual relations.
T	F	4.	Lung capacity tends to decline in old age.
T	F	5.	The majority of old people feel miserable most of the time.
T	F	6.	Physical strength tends to decline in old age.
T	F	7.	At least one-tenth of the aged are living in long-stay institutions (i.e. nursing homes, mental hospitals, homes for the aged, etc.).
T	F	8.	Aged drivers have fewer accidents per person than drivers under age 65.
T	F	9.	Most older workers cannot work as effectively as younger workers.
T	F	10.	About 80% of the aged are healthy enough to carry out their normal activities.
T	F	11.	Most old people are set in their ways and unable to change.
T	F	12.	Old people usually take longer to learn something new.
T	F	13.	It is almost impossible for most old people to learn new things.
T	F	14.	The reaction time of most old people tends to be slower than the reaction time of younger people.

(Table 1 continued)

T F 15. In general, most old people are pretty much alike.
T F 16. The majority of old people are seldom bored.
T F 17. The majority of old people are socially isolated and lonely.
T F 18. Older workers have fewer accidents than younger workers.
T F 19. Over 15% of the U.S. population are now age 65 or over.
T F 20. Most medical practitioners tend to give low priority to the aged.
T F 21. The majority of older people have incomes below the poverty level (as defined by the federal government).
T F 22. The majority of old people are working or would like to have some kind of work to do (including housework and volunteer work).
T F 23. Older people tend to become more religious as they age.
T F 24. The majority of old people are seldom irritated or angry.
T F 25. The health and socioeconomic status of older people (compared to younger people) in the year 2000 will probably be about the same as now.
T F 26. A person's height tends to decline in old age.
T F 27. More older persons (over 65) have chronic illnesses that limit their activity than younger persons.
T F 28. Older persons have more acute (short-term) illnesses than persons under 65.
T F 29. Older persons have more injuries in the home than persons under 65.
T F 30. Older workers have less absenteeism than younger workers.
T F 31. The life expectancy of Blacks at age 65 is about the same as Whites.
T F 32. The life expectancy of men at age 65 is about the same as women's.
T F 33. Medicare pays over half of the medical expenses for the aged.
T F 34. Social Security benefits automatically increase with inflation.
T F 35. Supplemental Security Income guarantees a minimum income for needy aged.
T F 36. The aged do not get their proportionate share (about 11%) of the nation's income.
T F 37. The aged have higher rates of criminal victimization than persons under 65.
T F 38. The aged are more fearful of crime than are persons under 65.
T F 39. The aged are the most law-abiding of all adult groups according to official statistics.
T F 40. There are two widows for each widower among the aged.
T F 41. More of the aged vote than any other age group.
T F 42. There are proportionately more older persons in public office than in the total population.
T F 43. The proportion of Blacks among the aged is growing.
T F 44. Participation in voluntary organizations (churches and clubs) tends to decline among the healthy aged.

T F 45. The majority of aged live alone.
T F 46. About 3% more of the aged have incomes below the official poverty level than the rest of the population.
T F 47. The rate of poverty among aged Blacks is about 3 times as high as among aged Whites.
T F 48. Older persons who reduce their activity tend to be happier than those who remain active.
T F 49. When the last child leaves home, the majority of parents have serious problems adjusting to their "empty nest."
T F 50. The proportion widowed is decreasing among the aged.

Note. From "Facts on Aging: A Short Quiz" by E. Palmore, 1977, *The Gerontologist, 17*, p. 315–320. Copyright 1977 by the Gerontological Society of America. Adapted by permission. Also from "The Facts on Aging Quiz: Part Two" by E. Palmore, 1981, *The Gerontologist, 21*, p. 431–437. Copyright 1981 by The Gerontological Society of America. Adapted by permission.

As can be seen, each of the myths has "a grain of truth." The general negative societal view toward the later years of life and "selected perception" have created and promulgated these negative myths on the basis of an *occasional* observation of their "truthfulness." For a few individuals, retirement, like any other stage of life, may be a period of poor health, poor finances, radical changes in life style, or radical changes in personal relationships. Unfortunately, selective perception has led society to develop many negative views about retirement. These views have been strangely resistant to contrary data published again and again in the last 10 to 20 years. In examining these myths, it will become clear that preretirement attitudes are perhaps *the* most potent influencer of what happens in retirement. Until persons are cognizant of these retirement myths, they enter the period with demonstrable handicaps. The more myths they hold, the greater the handicap.

Retirement Myths

Dissatisfaction. Approximately one-half of all retirees find retirement less enjoyable than they expected (false). Surveys of *preretirees* often find the majority thinking that retirement will be a less desirable time than preretirement. However, when surveys are conducted of *actual* retirees, 80% or more report that their preretirement expectations have been fulfilled or exceeded (Palmore, Fillenbaum, & George, 1984; Parnes, 1981). Even in the 1960s, retirees were reporting high levels of satisfaction if they were in good health (Streib & Schneider, 1971).

As noted, a minority of dissatisfied retirees are apparently sufficient "evidence" for many to believe that most retirees are dissatisfied. In seminars when retirees have been brought in to talk about their own adjustments and satisfaction, sometimes accusations of selecting happy retirees have been made. Researchers are often amazed at the degree of satisfaction among some retirees who are actually quite impoverished financially or are experiencing significant health problems.

Critical adjustment periods. The most difficult time to adjust to retirement is during the first few months (false). Folklore about the stress

of leaving the work setting and adapting to a new life style in retirement lead many to believe that the first few months will be the crisis-laden ones. Ironically, quite the contrary may be true. The first few months (even the first or second year) of retirement is what Atchley (1976) called the honeymoon period. Even studies of retirees in the 1950s (Reichard, Livson, & Petersen, 1962) indicated that retirees were immensely surprised about how much they enjoyed the first few months of retirement.

Atchley has specified a series of phases in retirement that, although not yet empirically supported, fit the observations of many professionals working with retirees. If there is any one probable time likely to be a difficult one for adjustment, it occurs sometime in the second year of retirement. Atchley refers to this as the disenchantment phase. Part of this crisis may be related to the hard realities of financial adjustment. Middle-class retirees may experience crisis as their retirement pensions begin to be taxed (they are generally tax-free for the first year and a half) and some of their savings have disappeared or are disappearing faster than anticipated. At the same time, the novelty of all the freedom may be replaced by a sense of routine and dullness if new patterns of activities have not been developed.

Income and satisfaction. Happiness in retirement is strongly related to the amount of retirement income (false). Although one often assumes that the more money one has, the happier one will be in retirement, at best this relationship is only true for the poor socioeconomic levels. Once the retirement income is above the basic subsistance level, the relationship between amount of retirement income and happiness disappears. In other words, although retirees with an income of $12,000 may be twice as happy as those with an income of $6,000, it is not true that an income of $24,000 will make them twice as happy as those with an income of $12,000. Reichard, Livson, and Petersen (1962) and Streib and Schneider (1971) obtained data that demonstrate that *anxieties* about financial status are related to adjustment to retirement. The actual dollar amounts, however, are not nearly as critical. Many very poor retirees, even those who have to change their life styles significantly to live on half their prior income, are quite satisfied. At the other extreme, some very wealthy retirees become obsessed with worries about inflation and "impending" needs for massive life style changes.

A few averages to provide some crude guidelines for financial planning for retirement are suggested by studies of income patterns in retirement. The average reduction in income ranges from 20% to 50% depending upon the study. There is also reasonable evidence (Atchley, 1976) that feeling poor may be a more critical factor in adjusting to retirement than actually being poor. There is probably considerable merit in preretirees' not having more than a quarter or a third anticipated reduction in income. If they are going to have a greater decrease, they will not only have to make significant changes in their current life style, but also will find themselves relatively disadvantaged compared to other retirees in their circles.

If a one-third income reduction brings a retiree below the U.S. published figures for subsistence levels ($9,862 for a family of four in 1982), hard life realities will make adjustment to retirement very difficult unless

a retiree is willing to receive some governmental assistance with housing or food costs. Although these subsistence figures may seem low, if a couple is living on one worker's Social Security not at a high pay level, they may well fall below the subsistence level. There are also hundreds of thousands of retirees, generally women, who have typically not had as many working years to accumulate larger pensions. If they elect or are forced by health reasons to take early retirement, they will fall below subsistence levels.

Health. Persons who are retired are less healthy than persons of the same age who are still working (false). Again, despite evidence to the contrary for over 20 years (Reichard, Livson, & Petersen, 1962) and reaffirmation of the good health of retirees as compared to similarly aged workers (Palmore, Fillenbaum, & George, 1984), many still focus on the few retirees they know with significant health problems. Again, there is simply inadequate attention to the "base rate" (e.g., how frequently illness is occurring in all persons in the age group of retirees). As indicated earlier by Palmore (see Table 1), older persons do have a greater accumulation of *chronic* (but not acute) health problems. These will affect both retirees and workers as they progress into their 60s and 70s.

Almost never cited is the evidence of Strieb & Schneider (1971) that retirement actually *improved* the health of a number of workers who retired in relatively poor health. Although this finding may be inexplicable from a standard medical viewpoint, it will come as no surprise to those in the field of behavioral medicine. Their work demonstrates repeatedly the positive health effects of changes in life style.

Early death. Retirees are more likely to die prematurely than persons still working (false). It is all too easy to point to persons who die within a couple of years after retirement while many of their age mates still live. "Evidence" of this sort was cited in the 1970s in order to argue against mandatory retirement. Palmore, Fillenbaum, and George (1984) have presented convincing data that when one compares people who retire *in good health* with those of similar age who do not retire, there is no evidence of a relationship of retirement to age of death. In short, it is state of health, not retirement, that predicts age of death. Selective perception maintains the myth, as we well remember the "tragedy" of the retiree who dies and "forget" to note the worker of similar age who died on the job.

Workaholics. Persons who are workaholics most often have the hardest time adjusting to retirement (false). This myth is based on the assumption that people heavily involved in their work will experience an identity crisis when leaving work (Burgess, 1960). Atchley (1976) clearly demonstrated in his study of retirees that work-oriented people could adapt well to careers of leisure. As with all the other myths, there is a grain of truth in this one in that some workers do very much miss their jobs and consequently experience more difficulty in adjusting to retirement.

Research by Johnson and Strother (1962), Glamser (1976, 1981) and Goudy, Powers, and Keith (1975) all shed some light on who is at risk for experiencing difficulty when leaving the work force. Those who are

involved in and enjoy their work primarily because of the interpersonal interactions seldom experience difficulty. They seem readily able to replace those interactions in retirement. On the other hand, those whose involvement in work comes from a fondness for the work itself may have a more difficult time. This is especially true if they do not readily replace that work activity with some other "all-consuming activity" in retirement.

Atchley (1976) found that many workaholics carried their same patterns of high activity level into new retirement activities and thereby made very successful adjustments. The work of Goudy, Powers, and Keith (1975) suggests that attitudes toward retirement are another critical factor. If the workaholic sees retirement as a good thing, he or she is very likely to make a good adjustment. According to their research, the person at highest risk is one who is heavily involved in work and does not want to retire, but is "forced" out by health, family, or mandatory retirement age.

Work in retirement. The majority of retirees engage in paid work (false). Contrary to the data cited earlier on the preferences of the majority of preretirees to have some part-time or continuing work during retirement, once persons are actually retired their plans show substantial changes. Studies of retirees during the past decade (Parnes, 1981; Morgan, 1981) showed that between 10 to 20% were engaging in paid employment. No doubt because of the many financial and other anxieties about life style and use of time, preretirees see maintaining work as a way of coping with those realities. When they actually retire and experience satisfaction, however, they radically change their plans and engage in little paid work. There is considerable anecdotal evidence that even a reasonable percentage of those persons working are not doing so for financial reasons, but rather to be involved in activities of interest and to maintain their sense of worth.

Relocation. Approximately half of all retirees move to another state sometime during their retirement (false). The inducements of sunny Florida, Arizona, and retirement communities across the Sun Belt engender the belief that great numbers of retirees move to these sunny climates. Extensive studies of the moving patterns of retirees have produced results that surprise even the researchers. Lawton (1980) found that from 1975 to 1978 only about 5% of the retiree age group moved. This was the *lowest* percentage moving for any age group measured between the ages 20 and over 75. Furthermore, of the very small percentage that did move, only 17% moved to another state. More than two-thirds actually moved within the same county. When working with groups of preretirees, it becomes evident that major moves are in the plans of relatively few.

Lawton's (1980) book, *Environment and Aging*, is highly recommended as background reading for anyone working with preretirees and retirees. He provides an outstanding summary of the advantages and disadvantages of various kinds of residences and geographic locations both by region and by urban-rural differences. Perhaps the most surprising finding to the age group now approaching retirement and currently in retirement is the higher life satisfaction levels in more urban as compared to rural areas. Lawton's explanation is the much higher level of services available to the aged in more urban settings. Unless extremely good health

and significant financial resources abound, rural living can prove to be most difficult for satisfactory retirement. This finding is a somewhat cruel irony if one reviews the retirement books in the 1950s. They were oriented primarily toward retiring to farms and rural areas.

Marital problems. Marital problems usually increase in retirement (false). It is easy to point to what seem to be stable marriages that fail in retirement. A marriage with poor communication and bickering that may have survived during the working years finds retirement the "straw that breaks the camel's back." However, Friedmann and Orbach (1974, p. 626) cited a long series of studies that provide evidence that ". . . suggests no shock or crisis with retirement, but rather a high degree of continuity of activities and relationships and an enlarged and heightened relationship between spouses in many instances." For the minority of couples who do experience new strains on the marriage brought on by retirement, Leland and Martha Bradford's (1979) *Retirement: Coping With Emotional Upheavals* provides outstanding reading. For the usual issues (e.g., wife's feeling that her turf is being invaded and husband's switching from the independent producer to the dependent consumer role), the Bradfords provide numerous suggestions and strategies for coping and the relationship skills needed.

Family relationships. Retirees generally have more interactions with their immediate family (e.g., children, siblings) than persons the same age who are still working (false). This myth is related to aging myths that assume there is much dependence of the elderly on younger children. Again Friedmann and Orbach (1974, p. 626) summarized the myth and its disconfirming data: "this (myth) has involved two interrelated suppositions: (1) we are dealing with an emotionally charged, disruptive event that destroys prior continuity of life patterns, (2) the occupational role system largely controls the nature of the family role system; it is essential to personal and family role identity; and its loss is 'functionally' irreplaceable." Citing Streib and Schneider's (1971) study, they summarize data that show a high degree of continuity in family relationships. Interestingly enough, Streib and Schneider found increased interactions between retirees and children, *if* the children were more successful than the parents in terms of occupational or financial status.

Anecdotally, there is some evidence that the radical increase in mortgage interest rates in the late 1970s and early 1980s has created new relationships between older children and retirees. These changes have not yet shown up in the major studies of retirees. Because of the high cost of housing, retirees' children beginning their careers in their 20s and 30s may live at home beyond the traditional early 20s.

Simultaneously, because of the longer life span, more and more retirees have parents who are still living. Many of these parents may need some supervision as they are up into their 80s and 90s. In short, the 1980s could bring significant changes in the generational relationships during retirement years. Certainly, preretirees who realize that their freedom in retirement will be encumbered by grown children or dependent parents have strong feelings and new realities with which they must cope.

Social relationships. Retirees generally have fewer friends and social relationships than similarly aged persons who are still working (false). This item reflects the disengagement theory of retirement (Havighurst, Neugarten, & Tobin, 1968). Unfortunately, this position has recieved wide attention over the past 2 decades and readily fits into the prevailing negative perceptions about retirement. Atchley (1976), Friedmann and Orbach (1974), and Mutran and Reitzes (1981) have all produced evidence that there are very few effects of retirement on patterns of social activities. Obviously, there is a notable change in time spent at work and with friends from work, but otherwise there are surprisingly few changes.

A somewhat related point is that O'Brien (1981) showed that satisfaction in retirement was more related to the *number* of activities than the *kind* of activities. These findings help explain how satisfaction remains high even among those who do make radical changes in the nature of their activities (e.g., a pattern toward engagement in more solitary activities). In other words, even when there is discontinuity between preretirement and retirement activities, there can still be a great deal of action. Based on these results, it is clear that during the preretirement years it is not necessary to develop any activity to be continued into retirement. As Palmore et al. (1980) made clear, at any age individuals are capable of embarking on new avocational or vocational adventures.

Planning and satisfaction. People who plan the most for retirement are typically the most happy retirees (false). As much as we would like to assert that planning can be the major factor in a successful and satisfactory adjustment to retirement, the data do not substantiate this. Rather attitudes toward retirement have a stronger effect than planning, even though planning does have positive effects. Atchley (1976) summarized the empirical data that support the contributing role of planning. Streib and Schneider (1971) demonstrated that a good attitude toward retirement was more critical than the amount of planning. Interestingly enough, an overview of studies suggests that a combination of good attitudes and no planning is actually a better predictor of positive adjustment than good planning and bad attitudes. In considering these findings, it is not surprising that discussion group techniques as compared to lecture group techniques have had a far more positive effect on preretirees' subsequent adjustment to retirement (Merikangas, 1983).

As many career development consultants have painfully learned, regardless of the program tried, some preretirees simply will not get involved. They resist developing the kind of self-review necessary to generate both positive attitudes and plans that would lead to a satisfactory retirement. Greene (1969) has described some of the typical patterns of participants in preretirement programs and labels these persons as "resistors." It has not yet been determined how these persons can be reached.

PRERETIREMENT PROGRAMS: CONCEPTS AND REALITIES

At best the marriage of two sets of myths, retirement and aging, has created a cloudy image of life on the other side of the retirement event. Thus, the primary task counselors and career development specialists in organizations face is creating an environment in which individuals can

understand the authentic rather than mythical issues of retirement living. To create that environment, the focus of the program should be on the individual rather than on disseminating a body of information. The challenge in preretirement programming is to facilitate the process the individual undertakes. The objective is to prepare the individual to pass through this major life transition with as few emotional scrapes and bruises as possible, and to be equipped with clear values and life direction with which to face future changes.

Remote Phase Programs: Seldom-Met Needs

Discarding the role of worker and taking on the role of retiree is normally experienced over a span of time. The familiar retirement dinner with its gold watch ceremony may mark the event, but the process within the retiree begins years before. Atchley (1976) spoke of a remote phase of preretirement during which the employee is just becoming aware of approaching eligibility and wondering how to begin decision making and planning. During this stage generally two questions are paramount in the individual's thoughts: "Can I afford to retire?" and "What will I do with my time?" The ideal retirement preparation, both within and outside of organizations, should begin during the remote phase. Today, however, adequate remote-phase preparation is almost always left to individuals and not to programmers within organizations. In practice, organizational programs typically combine the content of both phases into one intervention, usually a seminar. These seminars are then offered for both individuals nearing or having achieved retirement eligibility.

Money management. One obvious need of the employee in the remote phase is to have a firm financial foundation in place. Yet one of the greatest challenges facing a career development specialist preparing individuals for retirement is to motivate employees to come to early grips with their retirement financial situation. Seeing this reality is critical for two reasons. First, it provides a foundation for decision making around major retirement issues including: timing (when to retire); housing (present home, smaller home, apartment, warmer climate, a state with lower taxes); life style (can what is desired be reconciled with what is affordable); and employment (part-time/volunteer). Without feeling control over the financial future, the preretired in seminar settings cannot focus serious attention on other critical areas of retirement readiness that may significantly influence satisfaction and adjustment in retirement.

In the typical company retirement seminar, the financial planning address is given by professional financial consultants or investment brokers. Their presentations to preretirees often enhance anxiety about financial matters rather than reduce them. Consultants often talk about options that, although understood, often require cash resources not available to many participants. Although someone who has effectively managed previous finances may have from $10,000 to $30,000 or more in liquid investments that can be moved around to add significantly to retirement income, many participants have few assets other than a home, which is not liquid capital. Consequently, the presentations may not only be irrelevant for their finances, but are often threatening to preretirees

who begin to feel inadequate because they have not amassed the liquid assets that the financial consultants suggest should be part of their portfolio.

Responding by questionnaire to one presentation of this type, one-half of the participants said they planned to hire the professional to do their financial planning. They were ready to turn control over to someone else and incur more expenses even when their resources were meager.

The ideal program provides preretirees the incentive to juxtapose their present use of money (e.g., budget) with a projected retirement budget. In this way they look at the differences, decide on the adequacy of what they see, project that into the future for 10 or 15 years indexed for inflation, and then begin to think with more realism about the timing and activities of retirement. Thus, the optimal situation would be to live on the projected retirement budget before retirement. In other words, rehearse the retirement life style while building a nest egg. Financial experts have noted that 5 to 8 years of such planning and saving are necessary to develop appreciable supplemental retirement resources.

Use of time. In addition to the need for money management in the remote phase of preretirement and the challenges to programmers that this presents, a second major question uppermost in most preretirees' thoughts is: "What will I do with my time?"

A widely held fantasy of retirement is that it is an extended vacation. This fantasy is understandable because most people are accustomed to the rhythm of working 5 days, resting 2—working for 11 months, playing for 1. This kind of rhythm is established from the earliest days at school. In seminars when some preretirees look at retirement life, they see total freedom (e.g., wonderful leisure, no decision making). However, individuals who are already retired (Bradford & Bradford, 1979; Willing, 1981) report quite a different situation. Retirement is not a perpetual vacation. Rather, it is a major life transition that necessitates the development of new roles, or the enlargement of present roles other than that of worker. For this to happen preretirees must have a clear sense of self at their present stage in the life cycle. From this sense of self will then flow the roles to assume or enlarge and knowledge of what to do with time. Retirement programmers do well to rephrase the question, "What will I do with my time?" to "Who do I choose to be?" When the preretirees understand the uniqueness of their potential contribution to life outside the work context, as well as their personal self-worth and needs, new roles and a list of activities will fall into place.

There are particular difficulties associated with the experience of leaving the work role. These are often denied consciousness, yet are crucial to the satisfying use of time in retirement. Bradford and Bradford (1979) identified a series of psychological needs that are filled inadvertently by most organizations:

- a sense of belonging to a group outside the family network;
- the need to socialize with fellow workers, colleagues, and associates;
- an area of physical and psychological space (title, status, responsibility, image, sense of usefulness, work place, desk, equipment, tools);
- time structure, routines;

- goals; and
- achievement, power and influence, affirmation, validation, valued knowledge and skills.

Few employees realize the extent to which they have these needs, let alone realize that the needs have been filled by the work role. Even the most independent high-level executives who routinely set goals for themselves and their organization do so because of the responsibilities they have agreed to shoulder. When they leave work, they will leave those goals for another person to set. The most basic routines of our day, of the season, and of the year are dictated by one's identity as worker: (a) when to rise, (b) what to wear, (c) what to eat (light breakfast for sedentary workers/ heavy breakfast for manual laborers), (d) what to read, (e) with whom to socialize, (f) when to take a vacation, (g) whether to celebrate a holiday (who gets off Columbus Day?), and (h) when to do the laundry.

Most of us are affirmed largely by our work. Our worth is validated through the use of our knowledge and skills. We exercise power and influence. We experience a sense of accomplishment. To leave these inner benefits at retirement is to lose some of the major psychological props to well-being. Good preretirement programs must examine these issues with the goal of replacing the salient losses with retirement activities that will ensure the continuity of a sense of self-esteem and value. A key question for preretirees to ask is, "What activities in my retirement life style will ensure that my psychological needs filled by work will also be met in retirement?"

The task of facilitating such a self-examination can be challenging, depending on the particular culture of the organization. A highly technical, investigative, and scientific population will react differently than a highly social and humanitarian population to introspective activities. It can and must be done, however, even in the most challenging settings.

The authors, in a scientific and technical setting, use both content and process to reduce the initial resistance to introspective activities that typically occurs in a retirement age cohort. Content that challenges established myths of retirement leads easily into examining personal values and needs in light of the reality of retirement. Activities that do not require self-disclosure, yet promote group sharing, help to establish a social climate of acceptance of the task. Some individuals report that the greatest benefit of a seminar is participating in open discussion about some of the "feeling" issues involved in retirement planning.

In the authors' work, three modules are designed to stimulate thinking around topics that feed into the question of time use: Work and Retirement, Time and Retirement, and Self and Retirement. The programmer's goal is to foster the development of inner control and direction for the future and to forestall a lack of goals and direction that many retirees report. One seminar participant summed it up thus: "Up to now in my life I have just let things happen. Now I see that I can control the direction of my life in retirement." A list of possible activities and a discussion on volunteerism is of little help to preretirees looking to feel satisfied about their use of time in retirement. What is required is that the individuals must come to grips with the direction of their life when life is not structured by work.

Near Phase

When an employee becomes eligible to retire (according to company regulations), the question of when to retire and the accompanying decision making can precipitate significant anxiety. Atchley (1976) noted that as the retirement time draws near, attitudes toward retirement become more negative for many, probably because of a lack of financial preparedness. It is a time when individuals begin to separate themselves psychologically from work. For employees who have planned in the remote phase, nearing retirement is likely to be positive because they have prepared themselves financially and set in place a direction for retirement activities.

A key factor for satisfying retirement adjustment is establishing a realistic concept of retirement life. It is a time to be practical as well as idealistic. Those individuals who see retirement *only* as a time to "do what I want to do, when I want to do it" or to spend the days on a golf course will be ill prepared for retirement realities (e.g., when family members require their time or there is no partner for a game).

What can the career development specialist do to facilitate reality-based planning in the near phase of the retirement transition? The authors' programs focus on the individual's needs for information, social support, and a concrete plan of action (Schlossberg, Troll, & Leibowitz, 1978).

Information. Information needs of the preretirees are highly practical. Often there is a need for personal, pertinent facts, not general information. For this reason it is more useful for leaders to facilitate the participants' own information gathering activities rather than to provide too many details on many topics. One example is Social Security. What preretires need to know is: (1) the amount of their individual benefit (not general information on the history of the Social Security Administration), and (2) the necessary details involved in applying for the benefit. First, the preretirement programmer should provide necessary phone numbers and addresses of local Social Security offices and information on procedures for applying for benefits. Second, to motivate preretirees to gather information, a discussion could be facilitated on the skills required to deal with bureaucratic institutions.

Similar to the Social Security information is information needed from the organization's benefits officer: (a) the amount of the annuity pension; (b) how and when to begin retirement procedures; and (c) the decisions (e.g., health and life insurance/the optimal time in the year to leave) that need some prior thought. Often, just meeting the benefits officer, having that phone number, and generally understanding the retirement procedure are enough to reduce anxiety.

Another area in which to generate information gathering activities rather than present general information is relocation. Unless an audience is composed of individuals with no family ties, a general talk on the best locations in the country to retire based on taxes, cost of living, or climate will be entertaining, but not practical. Of more value to the preretiree is a method for gathering specific information on quality of life in the locations of their choice. Suggestions might be to visit the area during the off-season, live there for a while, subscribe to the local newspapers, in-

terview the local clergyman, mayor, and storekeepers, and look at post-retirement activity plans to determine whether resources are available to carry out activities after relocation. Practical suggestions for reality-based information facilitate deciding whether to relocate.

The issue of family adjustment is another area in which the quality of postretirement life will be enhanced with preretirement information gathering. The individual whose retirement dream is to design and build a solar home in a remote area would do well to discuss the plan with his or her spouse who may have conflicting needs and desires to be close to children and other family members. Retirement is a family affair that will affect each member of the family, not only the person retiring. Yet all too often there is a lack of communication between spouses about feelings, hopes, and plans for a mutual retirement life style.

Information gathering for family adjustment can take the form of communicating at home with a spouse and other family members. If the spouse is present in the seminar, the work will be easier because of mutual exposure to content; however, communication between spouses will still need to take place in the privacy of their own home.

The final content area necessary to include in a preretirement seminar is health and aging. As noted before, much of the retirement anxiety is linked to misconceptions about normal aging, illness, and death. The health and aging module should include a thorough discussion on normal aging, with special attention to health practices that promote optimum health. Although this module emphasizes content more than information gathering activities, it needs to include some self-review and decision making regarding normal health and life style. Because the retirement cohort is often struggling with their own parents' illness, dependency, and pending death, an open discussion about issues involved with very old age (Neugarten, 1968) and death of the spouse is often difficult. However, the cathartic experience of such a discussion can free participants to make decisions about their own health and life style. "Now we are really preparing for retirement," is a response often heard after working with this topic.

In summary, although the seminar leader presents information through the various modules to the seminar participants, the emphasis is not on providing information as much as on teaching and facilitating skills for individual information gathering.

Planning schema. It is important to include within the seminar setting a structure for individualized planning. Without a structure that includes specific activities designed to teach and practice planning skills, participants are not likely to summarize their learning into a practical step-by-step action plan. Such a plan, along with the knowledge, skills, confidence, and motivation needed to create it, will provide the preretiree with an increased feeling of control over the pending change.

Social support. The role of social support provided by career development centers, social service agencies, families, and friends is finally earning its place in an understanding of human behavior (House, 1981; Russell & Cutrona, 1984). Kimmell, Price, and Walker (1978) showed that voluntary retirees with more positive feelings about retirement had

more family support for the decision to retire. As yet, little more is known about the role of agency social support specific to retirement. The preretirement seminar leader should be perceived as a source of supportive information (someone to go to with questions when needed). Seminar participants themselves will support each other by sharing feelings, ideas, and fears they have in common. When the seminar format includes former employees and colleagues who have retired from the organization, these retirement veterans will also be perceived as a source of support. Retirement clubs linked to the organization by ties of collegial friendship and mutual service are yet another work place source of social support.

PROGRAMMING OPTIONS IN THE ORGANIZATION AND COMMUNITY

Organizationally based preretirement programs must respond to the needs of the retirement-eligible employee for: (1) information and skill development to identify and locate information; (2) social support from fellow employees, former employees, and information experts; and (3) a planning structure that will focus learned information into action steps. Individuals who design these programs need to be aware of the psychological needs and requirements of participants during the various phases of the retirement transition. Seminars are only one method of intervention, however, albeit the most widely employed intervention serving the preretiree (Benjamin, 1978). Some organizations back up seminars with individual or couple retirement counseling using trained psychological counselors. Seminars may be offered for specialized populations such as all women, or all couples. Resource centers containing self-paced retirement preparation materials, a small library of retirement literature, or retirement preparation programs by computer can be established. Because organizations possess unique cultures, however, prewritten programs will not best meet the needs of every organization. The authors have found that even in organizations with the same basic professions and types (Holland, 1973), because of differing geographic locations programs need to be redesigned, omitting and augmenting the information presented.

Given that career decision-making assistance has always been provided in this country in educational or industrial settings, it is not surprising to find almost a complete absence of community-based programs for preretirement and retirement. Formal programs in education settings are extremely rare, but do exist (e.g., Bynum, Cooper, & Acuff, 1978). The absence of community-based programs is particularly lamentable on three counts. First, there are innumerable workers whose companies do not provide any preretirement seminars or retirement assistance. Second, where companies do provide programs, many employees are hesitant to participate for fear of the consequences of declaring their interest in retirement. Will they be passed over for promotions, for inservice training, for new projects? Such questions keep workers from taking part until they are absolutely ready to declare their retirement time. In many cases it is then too late to achieve maximal benefits from retirement plans. For most aspects of retirement, planning should take place a year and a half

to 3 years ahead of time. For financial aspects, planning and investment management should begin 4 to 8 years before retirement time. Finally, for the retirement period itself, the presence of community-based programs has a strong positive effect on the well-being of both men and women in retirement (Mutran & Reitzes, 1981).

In some educational settings there are programs that admit senior citizens free to courses on a space-available basis. Although this process does not give retirees specific preparation for retirement, it does make available the library and career development and placement center of a campus. There is no existing evidence on retirees' use of these services. Also it has not been determined whether these services have appropriate materials and staff to be of assistance to preretirees or retirees.

How can career development specialists be of use in meeting these needs? Isn't this the province of the community's office of aging, public health, or mental health services? Although such agencies are the logical providers of community-based services for preretirees and retirees, their staff almost never have the appropriate expertise. Career development specialists are located almost exclusively in educational and industrial settings. The programs described here for preretirees, however, can be offered in the community as well as in the work place. As noted, there are distinct advantages to offering such programs in the community. Public schools, libraries, senior centers, and civic centers are all locations that might welcome such programs, given appropriate staff. Career development specialists are encouraged to reach out from their school and industrial settings into community settings. These relationships may extend to providing participants access to informational resources available in a work setting (e.g., occupational information library).

Industries and universities that employ career development specialists may be amenable to allowing some release time for providing community services. There is a great deal of good will to be gained from such offerings. In return, the career development specialist has the unique challenges and rewards of working with new populations with new problems. Because there are so few opportunities for preretirees and retirees to participate in these kinds of programs, they are especially appreciative. Again and again, the statements and letters from program participants are deeply moving when they report how much their lives have been affected by the information and self-examination.

This chapter will close with an outline of the 18-hour seminar developed for emplpoyees of NASA's Goddard Space Flight Center in Greenbelt, Maryland. The 10 modules take 1 to 2 hours each. They have been arranged, at times, into six weekly 3-hour sessions, at other times, into 3 full days. As noted previously, even though most of the information presented is generic and necessary for retirement adjustment, programmers must make adjustments to accommodate the unique needs of the organization.

1. *The Retirement Experience*
   Objectives:
   To offer participants an opportunity to:
   a. examine individual expectations for life in retirement; and

b. provide a focus for learning and exploring ideas through individual goal setting.

2. *Retiring From Goddard Space Flight Center*
   Objectives:
   To offer participants an opportunity to:
   a. meet the organization's retirement benefits officer;
   b. become acquainted with areas for decision making such as timing of retirement and insurance options; and
   c. learn what is necessary to estimate a ball park annuity.

3. *Social Security and Retirement*
   Objectives:
   To offer participants an opportunity to:
   a. learn what is needed to apply for benefits as well as necessary addresses and phone numbers; and
   b. question a Social Security representative.

4. *You and Retirement*
   Objectives:
   To offer participants an opportunity to:
   develop a self-profile in relation to preferred activities, competencies, commitments, surroundings, hobbies, people, and things.

5. *Time and Retirement*
   Objectives:
   To offer participants an opportunity to:
   a. examine their current use of time; and
   b. integrate a review of their self-profile with a projected use of time in retirement.

6. *Life Style Implications for the 70s and 80s*
   Objectives:
   To offer participants an opportunity to:
   increase awareness in the health and environmental issues involved in planning for their later years.

7. *Financial Planning*
   Objectives:
   To offer participants an opportunity to:
   examine their present financial situation as it relates to financial management in retirement.

8. *Your Spouse, Family, and Retirement*
   Objectives:
   To offer participants an opportunity to:
   a. consider issues in spouse and family adjustment to retirement that have been shown to affect overall satisfaction in retirement;
   b. identify useful communication skills for discussion of problem areas.

9. *Work and Retirement*
   Objectives:
   To offer participants an opportunity to:
   a. analyze their work experience as it relates to need fulfillment and overall life satisfaction; and

b. consider salient aspects of their work experience that will need to be replaced in retirement life.

10. *Your Retirement Plan*
    Objectives:
    To offer participants an opportunity to:
    integrate all information gained during the seminar into a reality-based action plan for retirement preparation.

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